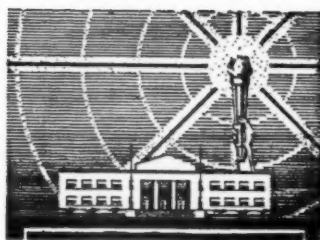


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The Social Studies

VOLUME XLV, NUMBER 4

APRIL, 1954

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As the Editor Sees It

Those who frequently attend educational conventions soon come to regard speakers with a somewhat cynical regard. The odds that they will have something to say that will be either new and valuable, or truly inspirational, are fairly long. Hence when one is fortunate enough to hear a speaker who not only says something of importance but says it convincingly, the occasion is worthy to be remembered. We recently had this privilege at the Milwaukee convention of the National Association of Secondary School Principals.

The speaker was Dr. Clark Kuebler, President of Ripon College, who made the address at the Sunday vesper service. His talk was an impressive and soul-stirring plea for teachers to take a stand for basic moral and spiritual values. Dr. Kuebler said that we had too long been drawn astray by the idea that such values were relative, they must be looked at in the light of current society and its standards. Truth, beauty and goodness, he said, are still what they were as the ancient Greek philosophers saw them and as the Judo-Christian ethics described them. But they have been warped and distorted by men with causes to serve, until we no longer know what is sound ground and what is spiritual and moral quagmire.

The ancients believed and taught that the world was made for man, and that the individual and his spiritual freedom were the supreme goals of life. Man's greatest achievement was to be in perfect harmony with God, and to seek truth, beauty and goodness in all that he did. Today the totalitarian philosophy has permeated in some degree everywhere. Man the individual is no longer the center of life; the state has become supreme. Freedom of the individual to seek truth as he sees it has been replaced by compulsion to serve the state, blindly and without reasoning. The great moral

principles have given way to expediency, to the idea that what is good for the state is good in itself. Totalitarianism holds to no moral principles, for they would serve only as shackles on the power of the state.

To the extent that American teachers are afraid to declare themselves on moral issues, they are weakening the basic structure of individual freedom. Some have said that social studies teachers should beware of taking a stand on controversial issues, but should present the facts objectively for the students' consideration. In trying to follow this dictum, we are in danger of leaving the student confused and uncertain, with no solid rock on which to stand while pondering his problems. What is true? What is just? What is good? If the answers to these questions are movable, flexible and relative to other variables, where can the young person find a firm foothold in which he can have confidence? He is all too likely to find little distinction between custom and moral right; he will be unable to discriminate between opportunism and principle. Surely it should be the task of the teacher to provide the learner with a strong lifeline which will prevent him from being flung about by the waves of false doctrine that place security above freedom, and expediency above morality. He should expose the fallacies of "what works is right," and "what people do is therefore good." In short, he should not only teach knowledge, but also wisdom and understanding, as the best men of the race have always done.

Such ideas, expressed far more lucidly and profoundly by Dr. Kuebler, represent a challenge to teachers in a disordered world. His closing phrase was a Biblical quotation that might well be the watchword of the teacher's profession: "For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?"

The Social Studies Teacher and Industrial Relations:

The Teacher and the Social Studies: Part VII

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The relationship between labor and management, characterized by Thomas Carlyle as the "universal great problem of the world," has lost none of its importance in the more than a century since those words were written. Perhaps no public issue, save that of peace and war, has occupied a greater place in American public opinion during the past generation. It seems hardly necessary, therefore, to suggest to social studies teachers that the secondary school has an obligation to give students a better understanding of issues in this area.

Only in recent years have high schools, even in large industrial areas, given more than passing attention to the subject of labor-management relations. Among the reasons which might have contributed to this neglect are the hesitancy on the part of schools to tackle an area of such controversial nature, the inadequate subject background of teachers, the difficulties faced in the introduction of additional units into an already crowded curriculum, and the lack of suitable teaching materials and methods which teachers might utilize to make the subject of labor-management relations both interesting and meaningful.

This article will deal with only two of these inadequacies—the subject background of the teacher and the employment of appropriate teaching methods. Only brief mention will be made of selecting suitable teaching materials

since a number of articles in recent years have dealt with this aspect, noting an abundance of good materials which might be acquired with some special effort on the part of teachers and librarians.

FOR THE BACKGROUND OF THE TEACHER

For most social studies teachers, labor-management relations is an unfamiliar area. True, the history teacher will have approached the subject in considering the industrial revolution, the development of the guilds, the institution of slavery in the Old South, and such historic incidents as the Pullman Strike and the Haymarket Affair. The economics teacher will have dealt with such concepts as labor and capital, and the "eternal triangle" of wages, prices, and profits. The teacher of contemporary American problems will, doubtless, have encountered such issues as nation-wide strikes, the Taft-Hartley Act, or general questions of wage and price stabilization. It is less common, however, for high schools to offer integrated units in which various issues in the relationship between labor and management are discussed in the light of their historical development and within a philosophical framework. The planning and teaching of such a unit is not easy. But no area in the curriculum offers a greater challenge to the social studies teacher who is willing to explore a new and dynamic field and to experiment in presenting concepts as well as facts.

The teacher who desires to acquire the necessary background and perspective to labor-management problems will find no patent approach—no single book or article which will provide a simple statement of the problems and their solution. Such background can best be acquired through a broad and discriminate reading program. Without presuming to circumscribe the entire area of labor-management relations we shall suggest some of the significant books and articles which reflect major concepts in the field or which may have served in some measure to influence the events themselves.

AN AGELESS PROBLEM

Labor-management relations are not of recent origin. For many thousands of years, even before the building of the pyramids, men have worked in some capacity for other men. With the introduction of the machine in the 18th century, however, a revolutionary change took place in the relationship between worker and boss. In his book, *The Proper Study of Mankind*, Stuart Chase cites the failure of labor and management to cooperate in using the machine as the abiding problem of industrial relations down through the years: "Explanations of the failure of labor and management to cooperate in using the machine have been loud and dogmatic. Spokesmen for the workers have said that the bosses exploited them shamelessly, piling up fabulous profits while men starved. The bosses, angry at this charge, have said that workers were inefficient, lazy, ignorant, unreliable, and easily misled by agitators—mostly foreign."¹

The problems created by the introduction of the machine were greatly accentuated by the subsequent development of mass production, a phenomenon which Peter Drucker, in his book *The New Society*, describes as the "true world revolution."² Under such a system the worker no longer produced individually, but worked on a collective product. His status and prestige were impaired and the owner, with his machines, became a potential tyrant who threatened the worker's security.

Out of this background of misunderstanding and violence both labor and management have sought to strengthen their positions and to

bring a solution to "labor problems" which would be favorable to their respective points of view. The story of these efforts constitute, on the one hand, the rise and flourishing of organized labor and, on the other hand, the development of organized management and of more rational methods of personnel administration. Labor-management relations (or industrial relations) is the term applied to the efforts of these two forces to find common ground which will enable each to prosper and will result in a product or service that is acceptable to the public.

THE APPROACH OF THE AMERICAN WORKER

Let us examine first the approach of the American worker in that dichotomy of interests. This is the story of organized labor in the United States, a development which has been described as being parallel to the evolution of democratic government. The first and most significant effort to trace the development of American labor and to analyze its contributions to society was begun early in this century by a group of University of Wisconsin economists headed by John R. Commons. After spending several years gathering documentary material on American labor, the Wisconsin team published an eleven-volume compilation of notable documents. This was followed by a four-volume *History of Labour in the United States*, the last volume of which brings the story down to the first years of the New Deal.³ On the same high level of scholarship Richard B. Morris of Columbia University produced *Government and Labor in Early America*, a work limited to the colonial period.⁴

In recent years a number of popularized histories of American labor have been published, relying heavily on the Commons and later research. In the light of social history Herbert Harris of Yale examined such American labor unions as the Mine Workers, the Ladies' Garment Workers' and various unions in the automobile, textile, and railroad industries.⁵ One of the most readable of the single volume histories is Foster R. Dulles' *Labor in America* which traces the story of labor to the year 1949.⁶ To fill a need for a high school textbook in American labor history, Harold U. Faulkner and Mark Starr, social historian and labor educator respectively, collaborated in

writing *Labor in America*, which is now in its second edition.⁷

In 1928 Selig Perlman, a profound student of labor history and a colleague of Commons, evolved a *Theory of the Labor Movement* which attempted to explain why American unionism, unlike worker movements in other countries, turned from the Marxian concept of a proletarian revolution to a pragmatic program operating within the framework of a capitalistic system.⁸ Within this framework organized labor has pressed for improved standards of living, for job security, for improved working conditions, for a greater voice in industry, and for greater security of the union as a bargaining agent. The typical American quality of American labor unions is described by the editors of *Fortune* magazine in their recent volume, *USA: The Permanent Revolution*.⁹ "American labor is not 'working-class conscious'; it is not 'proletarian' and does not believe in class war. Some parts of it are as uncompromisingly wedded to rugged individualism as the National Association of Manufacturers. Others want to 'reform capitalism.' . . . Yet the American union is a militant union—more militant, perhaps, than its European counterparts. Not only can the average union point to steadier gains for its members in the form of wages and benefits than any counterpart of it elsewhere; it has also been demanding for itself more and more managerial power within the business enterprise. . . . The American union is unique in the meaning it has for its member, in the purpose and function it serves for him: it is his tool for gaining and keeping as an individual the status and security of a full citizen in a capitalist society."

No appraisal of the American labor movement is complete without an insight into the life and contributions of Samuel Gompers, founder and longtime head of the American Federation of Labor. Gompers, more than any single individual, was responsible for the fateful decision of American labor made during the last half of the 19th Century to seek economic gains for the individual worker within the existing social system. His autobiography, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor*, is not only the story of the man but of the movement which he led.¹⁰

The rush of workers into unions during the 1930's, prompted by depression conditions and legislation favorable to unions, threatened to engulf the craft-type structure of the American Federation of Labor and led to the organization of the industrial-type union represented by the Congress of Industrial Organizations. This major schism in the American labor movement is described in a contemporary account by Herbert Harris, entitled *Labor's Civil War*.¹¹

Struggles between the "practical" unionism of Gompers and the ever-present labor "evangelism" which has sought from time to time to make basic changes in the economic and social structure of America, are analyzed by David J. Saposs in his volume, *Left Wing Unionism*.¹² In this work Saposs examines the policies and tactics used by the radicals in the course of their labor union activities. Although written in 1926 and therefore before the recent efforts of organized labor to eliminate the Communist influence within their ranks, Saposs' volume remains the best historical analysis of the radical labor movement in America.

BASIC PHILOSOPHY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

In recent years there have been many attempts by critics both within and without the labor movement to appraise the basic philosophy of the movement and to examine its position in modern society. Unlike Selig Perlman, who still considers American labor as "a minority operating in a hostile environment," Sumner Slichter, the Harvard economist, believes that labor is no longer the underdog but "the greatest private economic power in the community." In his *Challenge of Industrial Relations*, Slichter suggests that unions, given farsighted leadership, will make a major contribution to American civilization, but under shortsighted leadership will become "as great a problem for the community as was the parochialism of the towns and small municipalities in the later Middle Ages."¹³ Peter Drucker, in his *New Society*, shares Slichter's views of a "laboristic society" but looks to unions for a new goal, the total welfare of the community. A less optimistic economic view of labor unions is taken by Charles E. Lindblom who finds, in his *Unions and Capitalism*, that economic goals of contemporary unionism are incompatible with our modern system of

free enterprise.¹⁴ The late Harold J. Laski, British labor economist, writing in *Trade Unions in the New Society*, takes a more extreme view of the future of American labor. "The trade union movement, in a revolutionary age like our own," writes Laski, "has a political task at least equal to its economic function." The supreme duty of unions, he believes, is to "set economic policy in the political perspective that makes its fulfillment possible."¹⁵ Walter Reuther of the CIO, David Dubinsky of the Ladies' Garment Workers' (AFL), and George Brooks of the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Workers (AFL) are among the most able and vigorous spokesmen for organized labor whose writings are worth consideration. George Brooks, writing in the *Monthly Labor Review*, expresses a generally accepted view of the future of American labor: "A new mood of experimentation is certainly present. The evidences of this new mood are to be found in the growing interest and participation in international affairs, in legislation, in politics, and in education. While clinging to the familiar and productive practice of collective bargaining, the organized labor movement will certainly seek new techniques for expressing new aspirations in the years ahead."¹⁶

"Why do workers join unions?" is a question frequently asked both by the layman and the student of labor. In their study *The Dynamics of Industrial Democracy*, Clinton S. Golden and Harold J. Ruttenberg view the labor movement in the light of aims and satisfactions of the individual worker.¹⁷ "Workers organize into labor unions," they write, "not alone for economic motives but also for equally compelling psychological and social ones so that they can participate in making the decisions that vitally affect them in their work and community life." In a pamphlet issued by the National Planning Association, entitled *Why I Am in the Labor Movement*, 15 leading labor unionists express their personal philosophies of labor unions in America.¹⁸

It is generally accepted today that unions in America have come of age, although they may not be completely seasoned and mature, and that they must be recognized as a permanent factor in American culture. Recognizing the positive and constructive position of the American labor movement, the American Academy

of Political and Social Science on several occasions has devoted an entire issue of its *Annals* to labor problems. One most recent such issue, entitled "Labor in the American Economy" is the work of 28 labor experts from universities, government agencies, and from within the labor movement, writing with many points of view on the major issues confronting American labor.¹⁹ A somewhat similar distillation of contemporary thinking is contained in the 35th anniversary issue of the *Monthly Labor Review*.²⁰

THE STRUCTURE OF UNIONS

Thus far in this article we have dealt with the historical and philosophical development of the labor movement in America. To understand how unions work toward winning their various goals, it is also necessary to know something of the structure of modern unions and their mode of operating. How labor unions, as organisms, perform their functions and conduct their daily affairs is the subject of Florence Peterson's *American Labor Unions*, a work based largely on an examination of the literature of unions—constitutions, by-laws, collective agreements, and journals.²¹ (For a current listing of national unions, their officers, number of locals, and total membership, reference should be made to the *Directory of Labor Unions in the United States*, published by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.²²)

In his book *Labor Unions in Action*, Jack Barbash, former research director of the meat cutters' Union, looks at union organization and functions from the point of view of an insider, illustrating his views with examples of recent union activities.²³ An encyclopedic approach to union operations is to be found in the volume *House of Labor*, the product of some fifty contributors from within the labor movement.²⁴ This volume emphasizes the relatively little known activities of unions in the realm of politics, education, community welfare, and international affairs, as well as the traditional areas of collective bargaining, grievance handling, strikes, and picketing. In a small volume entitled *American Labor Unions*, Herbert L. Marx has gathered together a group of significant articles from labor and general periodicals which give a bird's-eye view of union aims, structure, and internal problems.²⁵

AMERICAN MANAGEMENT

With this necessarily sketchy picture of the evolution of the American labor movement, its present status, and possible future development, we turn to the management side of the labor-management coin.

To understand management's approach to labor-management relations we must, perforce, examine the basic structure of American industrial organization. Like the labor movement, the structure of American business enterprise has undergone a profound change since the days of the industrial revolution. One such significant change is the rise of the modern corporation and the consequent separation of ownership and management. Peter Drucker deals with the *Concept of the Corporation* in a book by that title.²⁶ The development of American capitalism, with the parallel development of the labor union, is discussed in *USA; A Permanent Revolution*, and in a comprehensive textbook, *Industrial Relations and the Social Order*, by Wilbert E. Moore.²⁷ Moore traces the growth of the factory system, the rise of the corporation, and the development of professional management. He gives a clear picture of the organization of a modern factory and the place of labor in that organizational pattern.

Management of American industrial enterprise has passed through a number of evolutionary stages which are described briefly by Brent Baxter in a chapter in *Trends in Industrial Psychology*.²⁸ Beginning with the condition of complete authoritarian control, where the boss virtually owned the worker as he did the machine, management attitudes toward workers became paternalistic, with the employer operating as a benevolent dictator, trying to make the workers happy while living under the yoke. Paternalism gave way to democratic participation or "industrial democracy" where workers were encouraged to join with management in the solution of industrial problems which had a bearing on their welfare. There are, of course, many variations in attitudes and not all management has rejected the authoritarian approach. The movement in the direction of industrial democracy has resulted not only from steady pressures exerted over

the years by unions, but also from constructive thinking and experimentation within the ranks of management. Filipetti sums up the managerial evolution in his book *Industrial Management in Transition*, quoting liberally from the published works of such leading theorists in industrial management as Taylor, Gantt, Gilbreth, Cook, and Emerson.²⁹

Shortly after the turn of the last century Frederick W. Taylor began to apply the technique of scientific investigation to the problem of worker productivity. The analysis of time and motion required to perform a job, according to Taylor, offered a sound basis for establishing wages and hours of work. Taylor expounded these ideas in his *Principles of Scientific Management* published in 1911.³⁰ Despite the fact that Taylor and his successors exerted a profound influence on the management of industrial enterprises both in this country and abroad, their concepts were subjected to considerable criticism, especially from labor unions, on the ground that they failed to take into consideration the relevant sentiments of the worker.

HUMAN RELATIONS

A new approach to industrial productivity which has, in fact, become a new school of thought permeating the entire area of industrial relations, grew in part out of a study of some eight years conducted in the Hawthorne plant of the Western Electric Company. A group of Harvard psychologists, under the direction of Elton Mayo, discovered some important factors bearing on the relationship of the worker and his job. They learned, for example, that workers are affected by factors outside the job to as great or greater extent than those of the job itself; that workers organize into informal social groups within the plant which are more important to productivity than the formal organization set up by management; that a worker will do the best job if he feels that both he and the work he is doing are important; and that cooperation may be as powerful an incentive for work as competition. The Hawthorne studies are important because they placed managerial emphasis, for the first time, on understanding the employee rather than directly on increasing production. Among the various reports of the Hawthorne experi-

ments is that by F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dixon in *Management and Morale*, published in 1943.³¹ Stuart Chase, in *Men at Work*, presents the results of these studies in popular form.³²

Closely related to the Elton Mayo school of human relations are the more recent developments in group dynamics, first formulated by the eminent social psychologist, Kurt Lewin, and presented in *Resolving Social Conflicts*.³³ The influence of Lewin has been reflected in industrial relations research at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and at the University of Michigan in the work of the Research Center for Group Dynamics. The National Training Laboratory for Group Development at Bethel, Maine, is likewise an outgrowth of Lewin's basic philosophy. This remarkable experiment in the development of group leadership, practiced through the use of role-playing and observer technics, is described in Stuart Chase's recent book *Roads to Agreement*.³⁴

Many aspects of the field of *Human Relations in Industry* are covered in the textbook with that title written by Burleigh B. Gardner and David G. Moore.³⁵ Schuyler D. Hoslett has gathered together some of the outstanding contributions to the modern managerial approach to industrial relations in the two editions of *Human Factors in Management*.³⁶ The influence of modern social psychology on the techniques of personnel administration, both in industry and in public jurisdictions, can be seen by examining such text books as *Personnel Administration* by Charles A. Meyers and Paul Pigors³⁷ of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the most recent edition of *Public Personnel Administration*, written by W. E. Mosher, J. D. Kingsley, and O. G. Stahl.³⁸ In these textbooks and in the enlightened practices which they reflect, such techniques for dealing with individual employees as recruiting, selection, merit rating, promotion, counseling, and grievance handling are appraised in accordance with a managerial philosophy which places greater emphasis on the human factor in management.

INTERACTION OF LABOR AND MANAGEMENT

One of the fundamental aspects of labor-management relations is that both protagonists, for better or for worse, successfully or unsuc-

cessfully, operate together in the solution of mutual problems. Although, for purposes of presentation, we have discussed separately the approaches of labor and management, the most significant aspect is the interaction of the two forces in the attempt to arrive at mutually acceptable solutions to labor problems. This is, in reality, the area known as "industrial relations."

In his book, *Labor Relations and Human Relations*, Benjamin Selekman seeks answers to some of the questions which lie at the heart of good relationships between labor and management and which relate to collective bargaining as a social process.³⁹ He describes the process of negotiating an agreement between labor and management and the less familiar process of administering the agreement. Labor-management relations, Selekman emphasizes, must be worked out by the two parties concerned (labor and management) with the encouragement of government which operates to restrict the conflict.

Clinton S. Golden and Harold J. Ruttenberg, from many years of practical union experience, formulated 37 principles of good industrial relations which they illustrate, with numerous examples, in their provocative volume, *The Dynamics of Industrial Democracy*.⁴⁰ The ideas expressed in this book have been well summarized in popular language in a Public Affairs Pamphlet, *Workers and Bosses Are Human*.⁴⁰

The cornerstone of modern industrial relations is a phenomenon known as collective bargaining, most successful, according to Russell W. Davenport, writing in the foreword to Golden and Ruttenberg's book, "... when the union takes an 'enlightened' view toward the business and the employer takes a 'partnership' view toward the union." The idea of labor and management as *Partners in Production* has been developed further in a Twentieth Century Fund study bearing that title.⁴¹

In contrast to the traditional pathological approach to labor problems, a Committee of the National Planning Association, headed by Clinton S. Golden, undertook the sponsorship of a series of case studies which would seek the factors which make for successful labor-management relations.⁴² Twelve case histories of peaceful industrial relations under collective bargaining have been published by the Com-

mittee. William Whyte, University of Chicago sociologist, analyzed labor-management relations in the Inland Steel Container Company's Chicago plant in the highly readable *Pattern for Industrial Peace*.⁴³ As part of a broader view of democratic participation in decision-making in many areas of American life, Stuart Chase has described a number of successful labor-management relationships in *Roads to Agreement*.⁴⁴ Looking at labor relations from the standpoint of an entire industrial community rather than the experience in a single plant, L. Lloyd Warner, J. O. Low and a group of Yale anthropologists conducted a social analysis of a strike and its effects on a New England factory town. This is reported in Volume IV of the *Yankee City* series.⁴⁵ Charles R. Walker, also of Yale, prepared a case history of industrial relations in Ellwood City, Pennsylvania, in *Steeltown*, a volume which deals primarily with the problem of technological change and the effect on labor-management relations.⁴⁶ More recently the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations at the University of Illinois completed a 5-year study of labor-management relations in a mid-western community, designated as *Illini City*.⁴⁶

One of the most vivid illustrations of the progress that has been made within a single generation in labor-management relations is given by Mary Heaton Vorse in an article in *Harper's Magazine*.⁴⁷ A sympathetic observer of the Homestead steel strikes of 1919, 1937, and 1949, Miss Vorse contrasts the orderliness of the 1949 strike with the violence and bloodshed of the earlier events. Also in contrast was the attitude of the community, changing from one of intense hostility to one of fairness and understanding.

THE PROCESS OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Just as it was necessary to examine the organizational structure of unions and of business enterprises, in addition to looking at the philosophies that motivated them, so it is also essential to examine the process of collective bargaining which stands at the heart of modern industrial relations. A college textbook on labor problems, such as that written by Carroll R. Daugherty and John B. Parrish, will present a comprehensive picture of the collective bargaining process.⁴⁸ Perhaps the most extensive view

of collective bargaining as it operates in various American industries, with different types of unions and facing different sets of problems, is to be found in the Twentieth Century Fund's volume, *How Collective Bargaining Works*,⁴⁹ and in a supplementary volume, *Trends in Collective Bargaining*.⁵⁰ Findings in the latter volume have been well summarized in popular language in the Public Affairs Pamphlet, *Your Stake in Collective Bargaining*.⁵¹

Anyone who has lived through the past few years as an adult must be aware of the fact that labor and management are not entirely free to solve (or fail to solve) their problems. Government, representing the interests of all the people, rather than any particular group, has a vested interest in the solution of labor problems. This interest, however, has not always been expressed in terms of an impartial facilitating agency. For many years American unions were faced with a hostile government which viewed unionism as a conspiracy contrary to the public welfare. The courts provided management with the injunction and damage suits as tools to be used against strikes. During the last half century the attitude of government, particularly the Federal government, toward labor unions has undergone a remarkable change. Among the many factors that have entered into this transformation are four monumental documents. Despite the fact that few persons have even opened the covers of these great works, to say nothing of reading them in full, these documents have had a profound influence on industrial relations in the United States. Rev. George G. Higgins, in discussing these documents in the *Monthly Labor Review*, describes them as "landmarks in American economic and political history" and exhibits upon which "the people of the United States, acting as a collective jury, have based their gradual repudiation of classical economics."⁵²

The first of these documents is the 19-volume report of the Industrial Commission on The Relations and Conditions of Capital and Labor, created by Congress in 1900.⁵³ The second document is the final report of the Commission on Industrial Relations, also created by Congress, which was published in 11 volumes in 1916.⁵⁴ The third document is the report on

Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor, published in 1937 by a Congressional Committee headed by Robert M. LaFollette.⁵⁵ These three great studies made under Government sponsorship, together with a fourth study of *Public Opinion and the Steel Strike*, published by the Interchurch World Movement of North America in 1921, brought public attention to the plight of the American worker.⁵⁶ They led to the passage of a number of laws that improved working conditions in factories and that encouraged the development of a free labor movement.

With the passage of the Wagner Act in 1935 government support of organized labor and of the right of labor to bargain collectively with management was advanced to an all-time high. Due, in part, to feelings of a need to redress the balance in the bargaining strength of the two protagonists, Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947. This Act shifted the weight of government protection in some ways to the side of management and in any event placed substantial restrictions on many types of union activities. The wisdom of this Act and its effect on the collective bargaining process is a major controversy in labor management relations. Emily Clark Brown, in a pamphlet entitled *The Taft-Hartley Act After Three Years and The Next Steps*, gives a brief appraisal of this controversial piece of legislation.⁵⁷ In the preoccupation with the Taft-Hartley Act other important legislation dealing with the regulation of hours, wages, and working conditions and the special legislation covering railway labor should not be overlooked. For a comprehensive survey of government legislation in these areas reference should be made to Glenn W. Miller's *Problems of Labor*.⁵⁸ A brief summary of *Federal Labor Laws and Agencies* has been published as Bulletin 123 of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Standards, 1950.⁵⁹ Recent developments in labor relations in the United States, with particular reference to government regulation and investigation, may be found in the annual report of the Secretary of Labor. The 1951 volume was designated a *Labor Yearbook* and includes a supplement entitled *One Worker's Story, 1913-1953*.⁶⁰ The *Monthly Labor Review*, the major periodical of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, reports

objectively on current labor developments and publishes statistical data which are widely used by all agencies concerned with labor problems.⁶¹

Since John R. Commons and his colleagues at the University of Wisconsin began to study the labor movement early in this century, more than a score of universities have established special agencies for the study of industrial relations. California, Chicago, Cornell, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Princeton, and Yale are among those universities that are thus searching for answers to many of the problems troubling labor and management. One of the interesting new developments in industrial relations research is the inter-disciplinary approach, in which a team of scholars, representing the various areas in the social sciences, examine labor relations from the points of view of their respective orientations. The economist on the team tends to look at labor and capital as economic forces; the psychologist studies the behavior of individuals in the work force or in the union; the sociologist is interested in the institutional aspects of industrial society; and the political scientist is interested in the cause and effect of government policies on industrial relations. The total research product, if successful, is an integrated picture of industrial society. This approach to research is an attempt to deal more meaningfully with the multi-faceted nature of industrial relations. An example of such a team approach to labor-management relations is the University of Illinois' *Illini City* study mentioned earlier.⁶⁶

The interests of those representing the various academic disciplines as well as the interests of members of the various organized groups—universities, labor unions, management, and government—have been brought together in a national organization, the Industrial Relations Research Association. Its annual proceedings volumes reflect in particular the current interests and contributions of the practical as well as the theoretical academicians.⁶² A scholarly journal which deals exclusively with this field is Cornell University's *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, begun in 1947.⁶³

Probably no area in American life is more

dynamic than that of labor relations. This fact was evident in the 1951 steel controversy when an entire industry passed from private to at least nominal government ownership and back again twice within the course of two months; when more than a half million workers were called on strike, sent back to work again, and again called on strike within the same period; and when the United States Supreme Court handed down a decision which limited the emergency powers of the President under the Constitution. The social studies teacher who is concerned with presenting labor issues in the classroom must not only be familiar with some of the basic concepts of industrial relations, as revealed through great books, but must also keep in touch with the rapidly changing current scene. "Keeping up" is rendered difficult by the fact that the general press seldom deals adequately with labor issues and frequently presents labor news with a bias or at least an angle, emphasizing pathological aspects and personalities but providing little or no analysis.

The *New York Times* is one of the few papers maintaining a staff of full time labor analysts who can be depended upon for mature treatment of current labor issues. Among the news magazines *Business Week* offers the most competent coverage of labor news. Such journals as *Harper's Magazine*, *Atlantic*, *The Reporter*, *Christian Science Monitor Magazine*, and the *New York Times Magazine* frequently carry authoritative feature articles on labor issues.

In addition to dependence on the general press, the teacher who deals with labor problems will need to examine some of the periodicals and other literature originating with labor and management. Although not all such documents have permanent value, they are particularly useful in the analysis of current issues. In the steel strike mentioned previously both companies and union solicited public support for their respective views by issuing numerous pamphlets and broadsides. Such literature, if recognized as constituting partisan appeals, will serve a useful purpose in the classroom.

In an effort to bring current articles and pamphlets to the attention of high school teachers, the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations at the University of Illinois issues a periodical listing of readings in *Labor-Management Relations*.⁶⁴ An article by one of the

present writers in the April, 1952, issue of *Education*, describes the various types of partisan literature in labor-management relations which might prove useful in the teaching program and indicates the source of such items.⁶⁵

TEACHING OPPORTUNITIES AND METHODS

The books, pamphlets and magazine articles discussed above will prove of value to any teacher who wishes to understand the many problems of labor-management relations. The question naturally follows: of what practical use in the classroom is such knowledge?

Every teacher of American history, as indicated at the beginning of this article, finds numerous occasions during a school year when he must refer to the existence of disputes between labor and management. A few secondary schools offer courses in economics, usually on an elective basis. In such courses, naturally, a discussion of the role of industrial relations in our economy is of major importance. Many secondary schools have courses, frequently offered in the twelfth year, known as modern problems, social problems, or problems of democracy. At least the contemporary aspects of industrial relations are usually discussed in such courses. In some high schools there are courses devoted entirely to industrial relations. The number of such schools, however, is small and probably will remain small in the foreseeable future.

It is a fine thing when the school curriculum provides an opportunity for carefully prepared units in the area of labor-management problems and cooperation—where the economic, the psychological, the sociological and the political factors are investigated and analyzed. It seems apparent, however, that most high school students who receive any real insight into these problems will do so as the result of incidental learning experiences.

The Joint Council on Economic Education has recently issued *A Teachers' Guide to Problems of Labor-Management Relations*.⁶⁶ This has long been needed by social studies teachers. In this guide book, George Shultz of Massachusetts Institute of Technology analyzes problems that might be presented in high school classrooms. Betty Barton of Cornell University suggests methods of teaching, many of which are based on actual experiences in New York State.

Homer L. Gammill,⁶⁷ in a doctoral thesis at the University of Nebraska, reported on an investigation he made of changes in attitudes that took place among a group of high school seniors after they had studied a unit on labor-management relations.⁶⁷

The following suggestions for project or activity, many of which have been successfully used by teachers known to these writers, should prove suggestive to those who wish to move ahead in this area.

CLASSROOM PROJECTS

In many communities where there are active and vocal representatives of both union and management, it is possible to bring a representative from each group into the classroom or assembly to argue or debate a local or a national issue. There are many possible variations of this. Some school administrators, for example, prefer to bring the speakers to the school on successive days (or weeks) rather than to have them appear at the same time. This separation of the opposing spokesmen, they feel, tends to eliminate the possibility of a clash that will embarrass the public school. Some teachers, on the other hand, have successfully combined management and union representatives on a panel with a group of students. This, of course, requires much careful planning and preparation.

At least one teacher of our acquaintance has been successful in broadening the horizons of his students by means of the free reading of novels and short stories with an industrial problems theme. It would seem probable that few social studies teachers make the best possible use of fiction. The use of biography is as valuable in this area as in any other. Full length biographies, or shorter biographical essays, will often provide insight into the problems of American industrial life.

In the May 12, 1951 issue of *Business Week*, is related the experience of a group of students from the Elizabeth, New Jersey, schools which undertook to "cover" a labor incident. The attempt to report objectively on a local dispute can often lead to worthwhile and stimulating learning experiences. A high school teacher will sometimes find it possible to have his class make a survey of local personnel practices. Such a survey might cover an entire com-

munity, an individual industry, or it might be limited to a particular aspect such as the hiring of members of a minority group or of an age group.

Sometimes it is possible to get permission for a class to attend a meeting of a local union or a local Chamber of Commerce. Where it is not possible to take a large group, a smaller number might attend. This smaller delegation could then report to the class by means of a panel discussion. In some situations a group of students might be allowed to witness some of the negotiations of a new contract, or to attend an arbitration case or a local hearing of the National Labor Relations Board.

The use of a panel discussion on a topic such as any of the following, will often lead to highly desirable results: the union shop and other forms of union security; Communists in labor unions; reasons for strikes; wage and price controls; the Taft-Hartley Act; FEPC; the guaranteed annual wage; or private vs. government pensions.

Teachers who are having their pupils study the use of propaganda (an exercise quite widespread some twenty years ago and still productive of much good) can make excellent use of the pamphlets and broadsides frequently issued by both management and labor during a strike or while in process of negotiating a new contract. The analysis of contradictory claims and the discovery of a difference in emphasis will often produce valuable learning situations. Sometimes, in connection with this type of work, a teacher will have his students clip, from newspapers and news-magazines, all items related to labor-management controversy. Then the students are instructed to underline all of the factual material with one color, all the adjectives and adverbs with another, to summarize—in *their own words*—all the factual material, and finally to indicate what other material might have been included.

CONCLUSION

The present writers are well aware of the major factors preventing a more adequate treatment of industrial relations in the secondary school. The curriculum is already overloaded, there are so-called "vested interests" at stake; and teachers—few of whom have received training in this area—are overworked

and find it difficult to maintain old adequacies to say nothing of developing new ones.

In spite of this dismal picture, we feel that much can be done. Teachers are, as a group, consecrated to their work and alert to its opportunities and importance. When high school social studies teachers become convinced of the urgency, to the preservation of our way of life, of wide understanding of the patterns of industrial relations, they will begin doing two things. First, they will start developing their own competence in this area. Second, they will look for methods of transferring these newly acquired attitudes and understandings, to their students. This article, it is hoped, will be helpful in connection with both activities.

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Can Social Studies Objectives be Accomplished with Present-Day Textbooks?

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I

The purpose of the project described below was to determine whether or not textbooks that have popular usage in elementary and secondary school social studies contain content that corresponds well with commonly stated objectives. A slightly different way of stating the same problem is to raise the question as to whether or not the teacher can, with reasonable ease, accomplish the objectives when using currently available textbooks. Obviously, the first part of the problem involved finding out what the objectives are and the second task was to examine the textbooks to judge the relative emphasis of the objectives.

From whence do the objectives come?

There are abundant sources, some valid and others questionable. One could ask the pupils what they wished to accomplish. The teacher could list them in literary excellence. Patrons of the school could be consulted systematically or otherwise and asked what they want accomplished. Curriculum guides in the area could be read. Professional publications might yield prolific suggestions. In any event, the end result would certainly not represent a dearth of statements.

While the above sources and many others are probably excellent ones, the author holds that objectives must be an object of continuous

study. Accordingly current statements were examined in fifteen state courses of study, fifteen school system curriculum guides, fifteen periodical references, and five textbooks dealing with methods of teaching social studies. All statements found were carefully considered and classified. This venture arrived at the same conclusion as have previous studies on this topic, namely that it is virtually impossible to find a statement of an objective that someone has not put into print. Therefore, writings along these lines are almost common property. The accompanying table shows the objectives found together with the number of times they occurred.

An examination of the above statements of objectives provokes certain reflections. Among them are the following:

1. Much emphasis is placed upon the teaching of democracy. This involves learning the concept in abstraction, observing democracy in action, and practicing it in a very concrete way in the classroom. This emphasis is not at all surprising when both our national traditions and the present world crisis are considered.

2. The community in which the social studies teaching is done is mentioned often. The fact that it can and should be used as a laboratory is recognized. This results in many suggestions as to how social studies teachers may use community resources to best advantage.

3. American history is receiving emphasis in currently stated objectives. This may be a sequel to the pleas of many professional organizations, etc.

4. Obviously the connotations of the expression "One World" dominate the above objectives more than would the word "isolationism." This results both from recent trends and from the thread of idealism which underlies social studies at their best.

5. No clear cut curricular pattern or sequence is suggested by the objectives other than that of starting with the child's experience and immediate environment. Thus each school can freely use the pattern that is most apt locally.

6. Two movements that have been very active in direct ways in recent years deal with the Citizenship Education Project and moral and

spiritual values. Both of these are reflected in the above objectives.

7. There is no one set of ready-made objectives toward which a teacher or faculty can safely turn for adoption *in toto*. While those that any group formulates may closely resemble other lists there is just enough difference, because of local needs, to necessitate a specially prepared list.

8. There seems to be little difference in objectives stated for the elementary school and those stated for the secondary school. The thought appears to be that the objective remains the same and that the approach is different due to the maturity level of the pupil.

II

Since teaching from standard adopted textbooks is the method used by so many teachers it becomes important to determine how well they incline their content toward and stimulate work that will accomplish the objectives. The books alluded to in the table were examined by reading prefaces, tables of content, selected chapters, and exercises at ends of chapters. Effort was made to include due proportions of books in history, geography, citizenship, fused courses, problems courses, etc. Admittedly, the author of a given book would frequently disagree with the interpretations of an examiner who sincerely intended neutrality. Furthermore, it could fortunately follow that resourceful teachers would go beyond the content and suggestions of specific books. In spite of these optimistic admissions it all too frequently happens that the adopted text conditions the classroom pattern in social studies.

The following observations are offered relative to elementary textbooks examined:

1. Emphasis on democracy does not receive as much stress as it does in the objectives. There should probably be an increasing amount of space devoted to the topic with a corresponding increase in the number of suggested activities.

2. Personality development of children seems to be grossly neglected. This is unfortunate in terms of the present-day emphasis on mental hygiene.

3. The findings would give grounds for an examination of the amount of teaching that is done dealing with the facts of the history of our country.

CURRENT STATEMENTS OF OBJECTIVES FOR SOCIAL STUDIES SHOWING RELATED CONTENT IN POPULARLY USED TEXTBOOKS

OBJECTIVES RELATED TO ACQUIRING SOCIAL STUDIES INFORMATION	Number of times mentioned in 15 state courses of study, 15 curricula guides, 15 periodical articles, and 5 methods books			Number of the 50 elementary textbooks examined offering direct opportunities for the accomplishment of the objective			Number of the 40 secondary textbooks examined offering direct opportunities for the accomplishment of the objective		
1. Knowledge of democracy and the manner in which it functions.	24			25			40		
2. Understanding of social, economic, and political concepts starting with the community and extending into a world setting.	20			21			35		
3. Information dealing with contemporary affairs.	19			38			45		
4. Acquisition of sound economic, political, and social ideas.	10			26			29		
5. Gaining of an adequate social studies vocabulary.	10			35			48		
6. Comprehensive knowledge of the history and traditions of our own country.	10			18			16		
7. Learning the basic facts of consumer education.	9			18			24		
8. Strengthening and enriching personality.	9			10			30		
9. Securing vocational information.	8			27			39		
10. Deriving a suitable background for other areas in the curriculum.	7			46			50		
11. Stressing the importance of conservation education.	7			18			23		
OBJECTIVES RELATED TO ACQUIRING SOCIAL STUDIES SKILLS									
1. Ability to make use of table of contents, index, maps, charts, graphs, dictionary, encyclopedia, atlas, world almanac, selected cartoons, globe, etc.	28			16			19		
2. Developing powers of critical thinking and independent judgment.	20			26			48		
3. Participation in group discussion.	19			14			28		
4. Effective presentation of oral reports.	16			24			48		
5. Application of social studies information to practical situations.	15			46			45		
6. Working in groups within the classroom.	15			14			34		
7. Using community resources as an aid to the learning of social studies.	14			27			30		
8. Working on committees and in projects designed to help the local community and/or larger group.	12			2			2		
9. Enlarging opportunities for growth in reading.	10			28			44		
10. Relying upon audio-visual aids as a means of enlarging social studies concepts.	9			9			4		
11. Giving opportunity to learn parliamentary procedures.	7			6			5		
12. Development of leadership.	7			5			5		
13. Collecting data.	5			23			49		
14. Application of the rules of effective study.	5			19			33		
OBJECTIVES RELATED TO ACQUIRING DESIRABLE SOCIAL STUDIES ATTITUDES									
1. Respect for rights and contributions of others regardless of race, color, and creed.	42			43			33		
2. Desire to participate personally in improving various groups (home, school, community, state, etc.)	31			7			20		
3. Appreciation of the sacrifices that have gone into the making of our social order.	27			20			26		
4. Exaltation of high social values.	20			26			54		
5. Gaining respect for work well done.	15			13			5		
6. Cultivation of laudable patriotism.	14			12			15		
7. Respect for truth (accuracy).	12			3			13		
8. Standing for high moral and spiritual values.	10			16			32		

4. Background information for other subjects, emphasis upon contemporary affairs, and vocabulary building are given high priority in these textbooks.

5. Development of personal leadership ability receives little space either by direct statements or suggestions for practice. Closely related to

this is the thought that little stress is placed upon pupil participation in community projects—even involving his maturity level.

6. Parliamentary procedures is either a field that does not belong in elementary social studies or that has been inadvertently omitted.

7. Elementary school social studies textbooks

have taken far too little opportunity to suggest appropriate audio-visual aids to enrich the work at hand.

8. The same books rank unusually high in their effort to apply social studies concepts to practical situations, to stimulate wide reading, and to turn toward community resources.

9. Few of the elementary textbooks make much effort to teach how to distinguish truth from propaganda.

10. Participating citizenship is not brought into contrast with passiveness and inactivity in a very pronounced fashion.

11. Patriotism is included in a manner that causes pupils to get the concept by gradual intellectual development rather than by direct emotional appeals.

12. Respect and tolerance for all mankind, exaltation of high social values, and appreciation for the sacrifices producing our heritage are emphasized.

The following observations are offered relative to secondary textbooks examined:

1. More texts stress the social, economic, and political aspects of the current scene than the history and traditions of our nation. Therefore, texts must be carefully selected as to purpose.

2. Conservation education is not generally followed through based upon elementary school experience and maturity of the adolescent.

3. Consumer education takes a somewhat lower rank in the social studies textbooks than

one would reasonably expect. The question of space given in homemaking and business education textbooks immediately becomes a matter of concern.

4. Furnishing background for other areas, gaining social studies background and teaching of democracy are provided for quite generously in the textbooks examined.

5. Textbooks generally make it necessary for the teacher to turn to other sources to find supplementary audio-visual aids.

6. Few suggestions are offered as to method and extent of pupil participation in the local community in areas related to social studies.

7. The books are to be commended for including exercises that stimulate critical thinking, collection of data, effective presentation of oral reports, and application of social studies information to practical situations.

8. Character training, desirable qualities of citizenship and a high sense of values are all featured in the books examined.

9. Respect for toleration and appreciation of others receives much emphasis. Social change itself appears to be in this direction. Textbooks have either pointed the way or have conformed.

10. Some attitudes appear to be such as to warrant more stress at secondary level than elementary and vice versa. Numbers five and seven under "Objectives Related to Acquiring Desirable Social Attitudes" are illustrative.

Vitalizing United States History

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Motivating students in the study of United States history always has been of great concern. The problem of motivation is particularly difficult with the prevailing practice of studying U. S. history in chronological order as is done by most current texts and courses of study. Stimulating the student's interest in the past by appealing to his "natural curiosity" or

"love of adventure" is not very successful with many, and with others this method even leaves a negative attitude.

Stimulating the student's interest in the past by the introduction of present-day experiences which have meaning to him, however, can be more successful. Also this technique is consistent with the modern concept that a student

will learn that which has meaning to him—that is, that which either satisfies a need or which can be easily assimilated with his past or present experiences. By beginning each history unit with activities which are at the present experience level of each of the students, interest can be more naturally stimulated in the past.

It is with these points in mind that the following units in United States history and government are offered.¹ Besides beginning each unit with activity appropriate to the experience level of the students, each unit covers a pertinent emphasis on citizenship training.

An advantage to this course of study is that it is very versatile and flexible. These units can be easily adapted to individual differences and interests. The textbook approach or the resource unit technique can be used. The amount of time spent on any one unit can vary depending upon student interest or the resources available; it might even be advisable to leave out one or two of the units and emphasize others for more comprehensive coverage.

Among the multitudinous activities and projects which can implement these units, one which is highly recommended is a continuing time-chart in which persons, places, and events can be placed as they are studied. This is important because under the following course of study, history is not studied in chronological order, and such a concurrent time-chart would give proper time perspective to each of the items being studied. This technique also gives the student a relative time sense which makes the memorizing of many dates unnecessary.

Following are the units with the suggested introductory activities and citizenship emphases:

I. The Meaning, Purposes, and Functioning of Government

- A. Introductory activity: discussion of the meaning and purposes of government with illustration at the classroom and school level; explanation of classroom structure; election of class officers; study of the school student government; parallel study of the city, county, state and national governments. (By undertaking this unit on government first, interest in current events can be

stimulated and carried throughout the year.)

- B. Citizenship emphasis: development of principles of good citizenship for the classroom and for the school;² the importance of accepting responsibility as a citizen and assuming leadership roles in the community; safeguarding of our democratic form of government; the importance of voting and of being aware of national issues, parties, candidates, among others.

II. The Development of Our Heritage of Freedom

- A. Introductory activity: discussion and activity concerning our present day liberties, rights, and freedoms in the classroom, school, and community; comparison of life in U. S. with life in other lands in respect to rights and freedoms; investigation of the development of our heritage of freedom with its threads in the past and in other lands; the Americans' fight for freedom; the creation of the Constitution as the safeguard of liberty.
- B. Citizenship emphasis: the proposition that for every right and freedom there exists the joint responsibility of assuring that very same right and freedom to every other citizen.

III. The United States: The "Melting Pot" of the World

- A. Introductory activity: investigation into the national origins of the ancestors of the class members; study of the traces of old-world influences in American life (food, words, names, etc.); acquaintanceship with the political geography of the world; investigation of the history of old-world influences on the new-world beginning with the exploration period; study of immigration and naturalization.
- B. Citizenship emphasis: concept of brotherhood; un-Americanism of prejudice, discrimination, and segregation.

IV. The Growth of the U. S. from Sea to Sea and Sectionalism

- A. Introductory activity: the students (individually or in groups) take an

imaginary trip across the U.S. with all sections of the country being visited; sectional differences noted; investigation into the territorial expansion of the U.S.; study of history of sectional differences and the Civil War.

B. Citizenship emphasis: conservation of our natural resources and appreciation of "America the Beautiful."

V. The Machine Age and How It Has Affected Life in the U.S.

A. Introductory activity: each student thinks of an invention or improvement which is built or designed in detail; plans are made to put the invention through the Patent Office, into production, and onto the market—this involves an introduction to the free enterprise, capitalistic system; investigation into the industrial revolution, inventions, big business, etc., and their effect on the American culture and way of life.

B. Citizenship emphasis: importance of personal development, achievement, and creativity; appreciation of our American culture.

VI. The Place of the United States among the World of Nations

A. Introductory activity: discussion of how, in what ways, and to what extent, we, as Americans, are dependent upon other lands materially and defensively; investigation of the foreign policy of the U. S. including study of the United

Nations; study of the history of the foreign relations of the U.S. in war and peace. (This history might start with our relations with Britain and the Revolution if this is not undertaken in Unit II.)

B. Citizenship emphasis: the responsibility of Americans (both individually and collectively) of giving aid to the underprivileged peoples of the world; the importance of our setting a favorable example (so as to give hope and encouragement) to the enslaved peoples of the world.

VII. Summary and Review of the History of the United States³

A. Major activity: construction of an illustrated, scaled time-line of United States history. (This time-line can be based on the time-chart which was suggested and be made concurrently with the study of the above units.)

B. Review: Presidents, States of the Union, qualities making up good citizenship, and current events with the inclusion of the current functioning of the various levels of government.

¹ The writer developed these units while teaching the subject in the eighth grade at Culver City Junior High School, Culver City, California.

² If the school evaluates pupil citizenship, these principles can be used as the basis for determining the "citizenship grade" in the social studies class.

³ Inasmuch as the study of history was not undertaken in chronological order, this final, summarizing unit becomes essential so that a proper time sense of United States history might be had.

The Joy of Teaching Current Events

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One of the many problems a social studies teacher faces is how to teach current events effectively and yet retain student interest. To help solve this problem I started an experiment

four years ago with the seventh and eighth grade social studies classes. It has proven so successful that the experimental stage is now over.

Previously the students had come to regard current events as a bore and chore. They had been using the weekly current events publications, but not too satisfactorily. It was a question of trying to break down a distasteful remembrance toward these weekly readers or of trying to institute a new scheme in teaching current affairs.

After investigating I found the students still had a deep interest in current affairs and if a new method was to be used the following things had to be taken into account: the important news events had to be covered; unimportant articles that appear in the newspaper, such as murders or scandals, had to be left out; trends had to be followed in the news rather than relying entirely on weekly headlines; most of the news had to be covered in the shortest possible period of time, about twenty minutes; and last, but far from least, the current events period had to be made interesting rather than boring.

It was a big order but I feel it has been solved by instituting the following system. The classes are now divided into committees, two or three students to a committee. Each week one committee gives the important news items of the week by whatever method it desires. To aid the classes I obtained three 4' x 4' sheets of bulletin board material, one for each of the two seventh grade classes and one for the eighth grade class, and put them at various places on the classroom wall. It was also found necessary to have handy large sheets of construction paper. The committees used whatever color combinations they wanted as background material. Some found just newspaper headlines an effective background without the construction paper. To give an added artistic touch some have cut out the letters "CURRENT EVENTS," "UNITED NATIONS NEWS" or "KOREA" etc., sticking them on straight pins, then projecting them the length of the pin.

Some students have found it to their liking to get away from the bulletin board and resort to the loud speaker in the office. In this way some excellent presentations have been given and so realistic in content that the classes would listen with great interest when the overseas announcer would come in to the static of the overseas wires, but then the brief com-

mercial would bring them back to the realization that it was a school program. We have even had television reports by the use of an improvised television set, cut out of heavy corrugated paper boxes. The committee then sat behind the set and gave its daily news summary.

Not only have the radio and bulletin boards been used, but some committees have taken positions in the classroom representing various news "hotspots" in the nation or world. This keeps student interest alive for they are wondering just who has who, and what is coming next. Television has given some committees clues, and one they have picked up in particular is the "True" or "False" news summary of some important weekly event. This has aroused keen interest and it was found three or four contestants selected from the class with a news summary by the chairman was sufficient for the program.

At the completion of each committee report the class is always asked if they have any questions. This helps clear the air over some mistaken or mispronounced item and opens the way for the crucial part of the lesson—the class voting. Recognition for a job well done is now taken care of by the following criteria used, by the class, in judging the committee report: Subject matter; Neatness; Arrangement and Presentation. The four first letters spell out the coveted word, and ambition of all, SNAP.

SUBJECT MATTER—"Was the United Nations mentioned?" "The Korean news was not brought up to date." "There was no mention of the proposed trip to Europe of the Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles or the Mutual Security Administrator, Harold Stassen." To get an "S" the highlights of the domestic, national and international news have to be covered and trends brought up to date.

NEATNESS—"The pictures are not cut out straight." "One side of the clipping is torn." "The construction paper used is wrinkled or torn or does not cover the bulletin board completely."

ARRANGEMENT—"The pictures on the left and right are not balanced." "The clippings are not in line." "It isn't a very well balanced bulletin board." If the radio has been used such

remarks may be heard, "The overseas reporter gave some domestic news." "There was too much changing back and forth between the hotspots and the central office, it made it confusing."

PRESENTATION—This is the hardest hurdle to jump and it is good that it is, for here the students have a chance to express themselves before the group. Such remarks can easily be heard: "Anne didn't talk loud enough." "Tom didn't do as much as Jim or Mary." "We couldn't hear in the back of the room." "They were talking to the bulletin board instead of to the class." These can be pungent remarks and make the next committee try to overcome the faults and they usually succeed. Thus when a committee does come up with the coveted "SNAP" they rightly deserve it.

What about the values gained from this committee system? The students learn that they

have a deadline to meet. Committees, with the dates they are to give their current events, are posted on the bulletin board. They know that they must begin working a few days before their report is to be given, and for this they are given one social studies period. Any other time they need has to be on their own time. They have to decide among themselves who is going to get the news items and what the color scheme will be, or if they are going to use the radio they have to clear with the office for permission to use the microphone. They have a responsibility to meet and they are challenged in how they are going to meet it.

The motivation is there—now they must develop it.

It is encouraging to see the results in some of the less forward students. I have found that the committee method teaches the student poise, confidence, cooperation, originality, initiative and reward for a job when it is well done.

An Introduction to the History of Greenland

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As a result of rapid advances in the science of aviation, Greenland has become at last a country of increasing interest to the governments of the world. From being an ice-covered, Eskimo-inhabited sub-continent, of mild concern only to the Danish Government and to a few missionaries, it has become the scene of possible trans-polar air-borne invasions. The United States Government, given permission by the Danes, has been developing a base at Thule, an outpost far up on the northwest coast of Greenland, a site hitherto visited through the centuries only by Eskimos and the intrepid Norse explorers of the medieval Greenland colony. People of countries other than the United States have also been given permission in recent years by the Danes to conduct scien-

tific explorations in this almost totally deserted land.

The Danes themselves, during the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, have, however, carried on numerous scientific exploring expeditions into Greenland, among the best known of which were those of Nansen and Nörnlund. In Denmark, in recent years, there has grown up a wealth of literature dealing with the geology, the flora and fauna, the archaeology, and the history of Greenland.

To the average American, on the other hand, the name Greenland brings to mind two people only, Eric the Red and Leif Ericson. Eric founded a colony somewhere in Greenland, and Leif discovered some part of the North Amer-

ican continent which he called Vinland. To this average American it would appear that Eric and Leif had no successors; an interesting Norse saga or myth seems to have begun and ended with these two characters. Such, however, is not the case, for the colony Eric founded in Greenland managed to struggle along for centuries, not losing contact with Europe until the southern settlement was decimated by Eskimos in the mid 15th century.

Strangely enough, the last European mention of the four-century-old colony occurs in a letter written in 1492 by the highly colorful and controversial pope, Alexander VI. In the year that Columbus discovered America, Alexander described the desperate straits of the Greenlanders thus:

"It is said that Greenland is an island lying at the end of the world, that the inhabitants there have no bread, wine, nor oil, but live on dried fish and milk. On account of the surrounding ice, navigation to this land is seldom, and landing can only take place in August, after the melting of the ice; therefore one believes that no ship, in the last eighty years has been there, nor that a bishop or priest has lived there. And the consequence has been that most of the inhabitants have fallen away from the christian belief and have no other memorandum of it than that once a year an alter-cloth (*corporale*) is shown, which had been used by the last bishop about 100 years before."¹

When a study is made of the various records of the medieval Norse colonization of Greenland, it becomes apparent that there are two major controversies regarding the proper interpretations of these records. The first and fundamental question, involves the extent and nature of climatic changes in Greenland between 800 A.D. and 1500 A.D. The other dispute is over the general historicity of the records. The reliability of the Scandinavian family sagas is weighed, and the forgery of European manuscripts is argued. Before it is possible to get a clear picture of the medieval settlements of Greenland, the material of these controversies must be analyzed.

In every country, climatic changes are always a matter for personal recollection, opinion, and disagreement. Many an elderly

New Englander today argues emphatically that a distinct change has taken place in that region since the days of his boyhood, for he can remember clearly winter mornings when the frost was thick upon the window panes, and snow drifts were so high they defied the plow, making it necessary for horse drawn sleighs to go over or around them. What he forgets is that technological advancement has been such that his home is now properly heated and insulated, and that the modern tractor has far more power than a horse drawn plow. He also forgets that what to him as a child was a wall of snow higher than his head, is to him now, that he is of man's stature, merely a wall waist high.

On the other hand, although government-kept weather records may not bear out the New Englander's contention that within his memory his climate has changed radically, those same records do show patterns or cycles of weather change. In regard to Greenland, the question is this: is there any proof, scientific or historic, to show that weather conditions changed radically in that country between the time that it was settled by Eric the Red, and the end of the 15th century?

Some authorities think not, but others believe that climatic change explains much of the story of the Greenland colony. Two outstanding authorities object to the theory of climatic change. Fischer states emphatically that at the time of the first settlement, the climate was no better than it is today.² Nansen, in various instances, rejects source materials on the basis of improper description of climate. He has no patience with stories of timber in Greenland, or the harvesting of apples there. Then there are authors who interpret written and archaeological sources in such a way as to give ground for the inference of climatic change. De Roo, a writer who sometimes draws inferences beyond what the facts might seem to warrant, in speaking of the traces of human habitation Eric the Red found in Greenland, concludes that they were the relics of earlier Irish settlers, the implication being that the climate would not have been one too discouraging to Irishmen.³ Some more recent authorities, concluding that the relics just mentioned were Eskimo, give basis for the inference that a less

radical climatic cycle was in evidence, the Eskimos at first hunting the seal in frozen, southern Greenland, then following the seal back to the far northern part of Baffin Bay during the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries, finally reappearing, with the seal, in a deteriorating climate, to attack the Norse colonies in the southern part of Greenland in the 13th century.

Modern scientific investigation tends to substantiate the historians who claim that the story of the Greenland colony bears a direct relation to a long and marked cycle of climatic change. Isolated items, such as the nature of the change in fishing during this century in the waters off the west coast of Greenland, have a bearing on the subject; but far more sweeping evidence is to be found in modern studies in astronomy, in glaciation, in the cause of changes in ocean currents, in archaeology. Brooks, for example, in several chapters of his 1949 book, *Climate Through the Ages*, points out that changes in ocean currents, due to astronomical causes, resulted in the shifting of ice packs, and in consequence climatic change in such places as Greenland.

Such data as Brooks gives about ocean currents and glaciers is consistent with recent Greenlandic archaeological discoveries, with the sagas, and with ordinary European history. At Herjolfsnes, for example, some of the land, once used as a churchyard, is now under sea, typical of a coast line sinking because of the weight of the huge ice cap that covers most of Greenland. In other parts of the same graveyard, not under water, plant roots were found penetrating coffins and shrouds buried in land that today is frozen the year round.⁴

The sagas told of ice caps, and dark mountains, rather than of one continuous glacier in southern Greenland. The medieval Scandinavian encyclopedic work, the *King's Mirror* (*Speculum Regale*, or *Konungs Skuggsjá*), spoke of the colonists' early attempts at growing grain, and of their later entire dependence on Norway for their supply of cereals.⁵ Brooks' data on the deterioration of the Greenland climate is also consistent with historic data in regard to the deterioration of the climate of Northern Europe in the 15th and 16th centuries. In the time of Queen Margaret there

appeared to be changes in ocean currents and fisheries around Norway; in the time of King Karl Gustav of Sweden, Denmark, suffering unusual cold, was easily invaded over frozen straits.

It would seem that there is adequate basis in modern science for accepting the Icelandic and European records of a route to Greenland from Iceland along the 66th parallel, a route that would be impossible today. There is also sufficient basis for accepting other stories of once self-supporting settlements, depending economically on herding and agriculture for approximately four centuries and eventually becoming extinct because of starvation and exposure brought on by the closing in of the ice and the accompanying Eskimo attacks.

The other major dispute in regard to Greenland's history, dealing with the reliability of the sagas, would be of greater proportions if there were not numerous official documents, Icelandic and European, by which the sagas may be checked. Scandinavian sagas are for the most part family stories, many of them not written for several centuries after the occurrence of the events described, and embroidered considerably with exaggerated tales. Then as now authors liked to attribute remarkable characteristics to their ancestors. The wonder is that in any of the sagas, including those relating to Greenland, there is to be found so much data that can be checked in other sources. The heroes of the Greenlandic tales are men whose ancestors and descendants were often well known characters in Icelandic history. There is, for example, the story of Ari, whose peculiar experiences in Hvíttramannaland are included in a saga; he himself is no mythological character, for the references to him and his family in the *Landnamabók*, a work which cannot be treated lightly, are references to substantial, land holding, historically documented citizens of Iceland.

Just as the *Landnamabók*, the *Íslendingabók*, and other Icelandic sources are valuable standards of reference for the sagas, so are the continental European records of the Church telling of Greenland. These church records indicate that the sagas, those of Thorfinn Karlsefni in the *Book of Hauk*, of King Olaf in the *Flatey Book*, and of Eric the Red, are accurate

in a remarkable number of instances in their delineation of character and description of locale.

The only point at which there is any extensive and effective charge of forgery of these European documents is found in connection with the argument over the time of the placing of Greenland under the jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of Hamburg. The Bull of Pope Gregory IV, in the year 835 A.D. supposedly gave St. Ansgar jurisdiction over the "Danes, the Swedes, the Norwegians, the Funelanders, the Greenlanders, the Helsingers, the Icelanders, the Scritifinns, the Slavonians."⁶ This Bull of Pope Gregory is confirmed by several later bulls, including those of Pope Anastasius in 912 A.D. and of Pope John X in 920 A.D., both of which use the word Greenland or Greenlander. It is apparent that if one of those bulls was forged by some over-zealous later member of the Hamburg archdiocese, all must have been, since all mention Greenland previous to the settlement by Eric the Red. Adam of Bremen, it is pertinent to relate, in describing the erection of the Hamburgian see, mentions only the Danes, the Swedes, and the Slavonians, although he does mention much later than St. Ansgar, that the Icelanders, Greenlanders, and Goths, and the Orkney Islanders came to Adalbert, when he was Archbishop of Hamburg, asking for bishops and priests.⁷ It would seem that the story of the Irish monk Dicuil, telling of Irish discoveries of western lands to the court of the Emperor Lewis, of the questioning of the veracity of the Irish monk Feargal (Virgilius) by St. Boniface in regard to Irish communication with transatlantic lands, do not provide proof that Pope Gregory or St. Ansgar knew of the existence of Greenland. If the Pope had known of any Irish colonization of Greenland, before the time of Eric the Red, he would not have placed the land under the jurisdiction of St. Ansgar of Hamburg, as the Germans claimed, but under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Armagh. Indeed it took the Council of Whitby in England to determine that the northern part of England should be under an English Bishop rather than an Irish one, and northern Britain was only Christian-

ized by, not discovered by the Irish. It seems logical to assume, in this controversy concerning the early Hamburg jurisdiction over Greenland, that some inhabitant of Hamburg tampered with the original papal bulls to the advantage of Hamburg. In the materials regarding early Greenland, however, this is the only important instance of a probable forgery of a European document.

After these matters of dispute are examined and analyzed in this fashion, there emerges in a study of the manuscript and archaeological data on Greenland a very interesting and surprising picture of a medieval European colony at the back door of America. Two tolerably thriving settlements, one in the south, one further north on the west coast are discerned, depending economically in the main upon agricultural and pastoral resources of the country, carrying on a regular trade for over four hundred years with Scandinavia, the British Isles, and other parts of Europe, living as an integral part of the Church under legitimately appointed bishops and priests, and remaining faithful to European traditions even to the extent of keeping reasonably up to date on Parisian styles in clothing.

¹ Bruun, *Icelandic Colonization of Greenland*, p. 140.

² Fischer, *The Discoveries of the Norsemen in America*, p. 20.

³ De Roo, *History of America before Columbus*, Vol. II, p. 42.

⁴ Nörlund, *Meddelelser om Gronland*, pp. 37-91.

⁵ *Speculum Regale*, p. 142.

⁶ DeRoo, *History of America Before Columbus*, Vol. II, p. 47.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 58.

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The Significance of the Wealth of Nations For Economic Education

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Landmarks in social thought which achieve popular greatness are often those which provide an able rationalization for the activities of those who acclaim the greatness of the landmark. Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* was and remains such a book. Landmarks in social thought which achieve enduring greatness are generally those which deal creatively with the persistent problems of man and his social relations. For the foreseeable future *The Wealth of Nations* also deserves a first claim to greatness by this standard. Indeed it would be difficult to find another book on political economy equal to Smith's volume by either standard. Our concern here is to review these claims to greatness with the hope of gaining an insight into the problem of the teacher or citizen who seeks to be intelligent on modern economic problems.

Its Historical Claim to Popular Greatness

In its own political setting, i.e. of England in 1776, *The Wealth of Nations* is a reaction against the dominant mercantilistic policy of Europe,—a policy by which nationalistic states seek to promote their own strength by economic policies which impoverish their neighbors while enriching themselves. Restraints upon imports by tariff duties and prohibitions, encouragement of exports by drawbacks, bounties, commercial treaties and colonies, regulation of domestic production by restraints upon the entry of enterprise and resources into certain employments while increasing abnormally their entry into others,—all of these characterize European mercantilism.¹ It is therefore understandable why one of the dominant tones of *The Wealth of Nations* is a persistent plea for the cessation of these practices—an emphasis which after the decline of mercantilism is read

as applying even more fully to liberal democracy.

But it is Smith's positive views which provide those disturbed English merchants who are unhappily restrained by solicitous monarchs with an effective rationalization in support of their natural economic longings. Imagine the pleasure of the mercantile classes when they find in Smith's volume a carefully formulated argument for the replacement of the visible repressive hand of the mercantilistic state by the beneficent "invisible hand" whose beckoning they ought to heed by pursuing untiringly that which they want to pursue anyway, i.e. their own self interest.² Self seeking merchants find themselves not to be agents of the devil, as Christian ethics sometimes made them suspect. An untiring pursuit of their mercantile longings becomes their way of best serving their fellowmen,—and incidentally their own material and (they hope) their spiritual wellbeing.

Its Modern Claim to Popular Greatness

But merchants' needs to rationalize these longings did not die with the decline of mercantilism. Indeed the continuing popularity of the volume rests upon the common impression that Smith's work, above all, is an eloquent justification for unqualified *laissez faire*. We suggest that those who believe this popular view err on at least two counts; first by being blind to the historical setting in which Smith writes, and secondly by failing to read carefully and with an open mind what he says.

It should never be forgotten that the mercantilistic states against whose economic policy Adam Smith writes are in several very important respects different from our own. *The Wealth of Nations* was written before the American and French Revolutions. While lib-

eralism had gained literary and intellectual support, its tenets were far from realities. The "policy of Europe" against which Smith reacts is that of George III of England, Louis XV and XVI of France, and Frederick the Great of Prussia.

Furthermore, even had these states been liberal democratic states, the level of popular education, the instruments of popular representation, and the techniques of public administration were so inadequate as compared with today as to make any prescriptions as to the role of the state of greatly qualified modern relevance. Such a historical situation might have made an advocate of *laissez faire* of even the modern democratic socialist. To understand its eloquent criticisms of the economic meddlings of governments *The Wealth of Nations* must be read in terms of its own historical setting. Such a book is, therefore, not a source of universally valid precepts. Like all history, its use for modern policy is primarily for the insights it includes and the breadth of wisdom and judgment which it contributes to the careful and reflective reader. On what then is its claim for enduring greatness based?

Its Claim to Enduring Greatness

The great discovery by Adam Smith is like so many great discoveries of the social sciences. It is merely to make explicit a truth which everyone knows subconsciously but which, as a principle for action, is habitually violated by both common man and philosopher. It is the principle of mutual gain resulting from free exchange, i.e. if we provide an environment in which two parties of their own free will decide to exchange goods or services with each other it follows that each party receives that which he prefers to that which he gives up.

Because it is possible mutually to gain through free exchange it becomes possible by specialization and division of labor to maximize one's productivity. An individual will be most productive by specializing on some product (or service) at which he is particularly able, —exchanging his surplus product for the goods and services of other specialists.

For example, specialization, division of labor, and free exchange permit the teacher to devote his working time to an occupation he generally enjoys, exchanging thereby his services for a

variety, a quantity, and a quality of goods and services which would have gained the envy of most princes of any pre-industrial age. The reader of this journal "produces" this issue for his own use by about seven minutes "labor" (i.e. teaching). He "produces" the ten dollar pair of shoes on his feet in less than an afternoon of work. He "produces" for his own enjoyment the operative services of the Metropolitan for approximately two hours teaching. Indeed even the dollar which he put in the church collection plate last Sunday takes on embarrassing proportions when he realizes that "labor for the Lord" takes exactly twenty-two minutes.³

These illustrations may also serve to make clear another point which Smith was first to make explicit. This is that by specialization and exchange we are enabled to produce sufficient material goods quickly enough to permit us time and resources to enjoy the arts and to grow spiritually. The prevailing Christian ethic has usually made material goods incompatible with the higher moral and cultural life.

Smith's second "great discovery" is an economic organization. It is an economic organization under which specialization, division of labor, and free exchange can be facilitated in a manner compatible with a maximum attainment of the liberal democratic values. This economic organization is not *laissez faire*; it is economic liberalism.

This is the view which holds that the state has definite positive functions. These functions are, to quote Smith, "the duty of protecting society from violence and invasion of other independent societies; secondly, the duty of protecting, as far as possible, every member of the society from the injustice or oppression of every other member of it, . . . and, thirdly, the duty of erecting and maintaining certain public works and certain public institutions which it can never be for the interest of any individual, or small group of individuals, to erect and maintain, because the profit could never repay the expense to any individual or small group of individuals, though it may frequently do much more than repay it to a great society."⁴

In relation to duty two, the state has a positive duty in so far as possible to maintain an effectively free competitive market system for

this is the desirable environment for specialization and an exchange economy. In relation to number three the citizens of a democratic state have the duty of deciding, by the study and evaluation of the workings of free enterprise, those areas in which other arrangements are more conducive to the attainment of democratic values.

Several other reasons for the enduring greatness of *The Wealth of Nations* should at least be mentioned. By demonstrating how an economy might function in the absence of human intervention Smith lays the basis for the "science" of economics and incidentally for the first social science. By recognizing the tendency toward monopoly inherent in free enterprise he warns his readers of one of the major dangers to economic liberalism and to democracy.⁵ By showing that division of labor tends to produce citizens incapable of the exercise of democratic virtues he builds a classic case for public education.⁶

In addition *The Wealth of Nations* is a classic textbook on several important topics. Its two chapters on the theory of value include, without the use of diagrams or mathematical symbols, one of the more understandable elementary descriptions of the free market system.⁷ Smith's chapter on English colonial policy remains perhaps the literary and scholarly classic on the subject.⁸ The student of the American Revolution will find him to be the sympathetic Whig who envisaged the day "a little more than a century" hence when "the seat of the empire would naturally remove itself" to America.⁹ The student of education will find a thought provoking chapter which includes a history of university curricula,¹⁰ a discussion of the causes of poor teaching, and a serious consideration of how institutional arrangements can be made conducive to great teaching.¹¹ This chapter includes the interesting recommendation that professors be paid in part by fees from their own students so that they will be motivated more strongly in the service of their true object, i.e. the education of their students. Book three includes his theory of economic progress, one which illustrates his able use of history as a basis for economic generalizations.¹² His four classic canons of taxation have become the standard criteria for evaluating

taxes.¹³ Finally his description of how division of labor contributes to the production of pins has become the most read excerpt from the volume.¹⁴ In addition to the foregoing chapters, any prospective reader should be reminded that much of the reward from a leisurely reading of *The Wealth of Nations* comes from the insights which some phrase or sentence on almost every page provides.

Its Meaning for Economic Education

The implications of the volume for general economic education are profound. First, *The Wealth of Nations* reminds us of the fundamental tool of social analysis which economics, above all other subject matters, provides us. The essence of economics, and thus of Smith's volume, centers in the problem of allocating scarce resources so as to maximize the wealth of nations. We learn therefrom that the contribution of any proposed policy must be judged in terms of alternative uses to which these resources might be put. The "cost" of any social gain is the sacrifice of the most desirable alternative gain which must be foregone to attain our policy. This principle of assessing policies in terms of their alternative costs should be and can be made the concern of economic education from kindergarten through college.¹⁵

Secondly, *The Wealth of Nations* suggests an implication as to the proper frame of reference for economic education. This is a book on political economy. Thus it is one dealing not only with the "science" of economics but also one concerned with the development of a good economy and a good society and with the political and educational conditions for pursuing both.

Collegiate courses are perhaps too concerned with providing students a "Cook's tour" of the tools economists use and the institutions and problems economists study to permit any concerted excursions into the political and social philosophic borderlands of economics. High school instruction, in so far as it is not merely a watered down collegiate course, is devoted to the problems approach which often becomes a mere survey of our economic weaknesses but without developing either the tools for their remedy or the social philosophy for their evaluation. As a teacher of economics Adam Smith

must certainly be classified as using a social philosophic approach, i.e. one combining economics, economic analysis, history, and philosophy to throw light upon and to seek solutions to the great problem developing an economic organization appropriate to a free society. Is not a modern implication of his work that our economics instruction should be so oriented?

A third implication of the volume flows from the last. It is that teachers of economics need in their preparation, in addition to instruction in economics, a broad foundation in the social sciences and social philosophy. It should be remembered that Smith's "academic specialties" were, prior to his interest in political economy, moral philosophy and jurisprudence. It is inconceivable that a mere economist could have written the book. Indeed most of the great creative minds in economics have also been social philosophers (e.g. John Stuart Mill, Alfred Marshall, J. M. Keynes, Frank H. Knight, J. M. Clark). We suspect that research would reveal this especially so of "great teachers."

Finally, the fact that *The Wealth of Nations* has served mainly as a rationalization of what citizens have wanted to believe has profound implications as to the limit of effective economic education. Does this mean that economic education can never really influence society, can never really change a student's opinion? Does this mean that the only effective role economic education can ever play is to provide better rationalizations for what is already believed? We wonder.

Even if so, the educational possibilities in economics are significant. Our great disagreements center not on ends but on the ranking of ends and especially on the means to achieve agreed-upon ends. We agree upon such values as freedom and equality though we are often unsure of their meaning. We agree as to the importance of such particular freedoms as freedom of enterprise, freedom of occupational choice, and freedom of consumer choice, though we disagree as to their proper ranking in relation to one another and other values. We agree on the desirability of a productive economy and a progressing economy though we may be uncertain when these must be attained at the expense of other important values. We are in

almost unanimous agreement that business cycles are bad and that monopoly is undesirable. As a people we are convinced that free private competitive enterprise should be our primary economic organization though many of us do not understand what such an economy is or what it implies.

Economic education, in the classroom and out, may profitably be viewed as a cooperative study of the meanings of these agreements, of how our economic organization may be made better to serve those values on which we so largely agree, of how our disagreements over the relative importance of particular values can be resolved, and of how the economic principle (i.e. of alternative costs) may be used for intelligent social and personal action. Perhaps the greatest classic dealing with these central problems of democracy is Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*. This is why it is so worthy for modern reading.¹⁰

¹ Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (New York: The Modern Library, 1937), pp. 418-19.

² *Ibid.*, p. 423.

³ These calculations are based upon the assumption that the reader is paid \$4,000 annually to teach forty hours a week for thirty-six weeks.

⁴ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 651.

⁵ *E.g.*, *ibid.*, pp. 248-50.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 734-40.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-63; also pp. 47-54 but the latter has been subject to much subsequent revision.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 523-606; esp. pp. 531-33, 538-52, and 579-91.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 590.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 722-27.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 716-40.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 356-96.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 777-79.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-12.

¹⁵ In the lower grades the emphasis should perhaps concern economizing on the personal or household level; in the upper grades the same problem may be posed against social policy.

¹⁶ For the hurried reader who would like to read a cut of *The Wealth of Nations* which includes many of its often quoted gems and the heart of its analysis of the determinants of the wealth of a nation, of the nature of the economic liberal economic organization, and of the problems inherent in such an organization see the cut for which I am responsible in *The People Shall Judge; Readings in the Formation of American Policy*, Social Sciences 1, Staff of the College of the University of Chicago (editors) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), Vol. I, pp. 348-89. Incidentally I have used this cut very successfully with students who were the equivalent of better high school juniors and seniors. I am sure other teachers would find it equally useful.

Teaching About the American Indian

MAURICE ST. MARY

Cattaraugus Indian School, Gowanda, New York

Do we as teachers teach untruths? Do we give children only part of the truth?

We don't believe that the average teacher would *knowingly* teach untruths or part truths and yet it is being done unintentionally by millions of American teachers daily.

We are referring to the teaching in our Social Studies of the facts about the North American Indian. Surely, the Indians in early colonial days killed and scalped many of the white settlers; surely they lived aboriginal lives and surely theirs was a primitive culture. On the other hand, very little, if anything, is ever taught concerning the fact that the Indians were defending their homes, their lands and their families; that despite their primitive culture they have contributed a great deal to American culture or that the modern Indian is little different from other Americans.

Very few authors show the contributions of the Indian to American culture. To list a few there were cranberries, popcorn, pumpkin pie, beans, tomatoes, corn, corn bread, snow shoes, artistic designs of all kinds, names of cities, towns, rivers and so on.

No history or Social Studies texts try to give students any idea of what the present day Indian is like. We know of many adults who still fear to go on an Indian reservation lest they be ambushed. We have had public school classes visit our school and voice dismay that they didn't see any "Indians." Even many adults expect to see the present day Indian wearing feathers and a loin cloth and carrying a bow and arrow. A so-called intelligent adult regaled us recently with the story of a mid-western tribe of Indians, who would, for a price, "take care" of any white man who needed exterminating.

The stereotypes carried in the Social Studies texts as well as in children's storybooks have fostered these misconceptions.

Present day Indians (at least in the East where the author has had experience with them) are difficult to pick out in a crowd. There has been so much intermingling with other races that there are blonds and redheads and many fair-skinned among them. Even the darker Indians could be mistaken for people of Gallic origin. They dress as any other American dresses. Their interests are the same as any other American's. Their education is the same as received by other American youngsters in the public schools. Their occupations run the gamut from ditch-digger to college professor but their niche seems to be in the iron and steel construction field. They apparently possess a greater sense of equilibrium than people of other races. Many Indian people worked on the new United Nations Building in New York. The only difference between Indians and other Americans is the misconceptions in the minds of the other Americans.

We can think of several ways of changing these misconceptions. One is to rewrite the Social Studies texts to give a true picture of the Indian's part in colonial history. It should be shown that he was fighting to save his possessions and his life. Facts should be fully presented on both sides of the picture. The second way is to include an account of the life of the present day Indian telling of his manner of life, his work and of any of the old customs and traditions which he may still retain. The third solution would be for public schools to schedule class visits to reservations in cases where they are located near enough. Another way might be to film in motion pictures or on slides the lives of modern Indian people.

We hope we have not been too harsh in presenting our views on this subject. We admitted in the first part of this article that teachers have *unknowingly* been teaching untruths. We hope we have served the purpose of causing teachers to pause and think concerning their teaching of this part of their social studies.

Pictures on the Wall

WALTER B. HENDRICKSON

MacMurray College, Jacksonville, Illinois

At MacMurray College students never find themselves running up against a blank wall. At least not when they walk through the corridors leading to classes in history, government, economics-business, and sociology. One of the main-travelled roads from dormitory to class passes through a thirty-foot square hall, off which are the offices of the instructors in the social science departments. Here, in this Social Science Center, exhibits of pictures, charts, and maps are arranged on panels of four-foot wide wall board (Celotex), extending entirely around the hallway.

Over the five years in which this exhibit space has been maintained, a variety of subjects has been presented—everything from Currier and Ives prints of American scenes from Travelers Insurance Company calendars to fine photographs of historic European buildings, made by a touring faculty member. The idea of utilizing this expanse of bare wall was conceived when *Life Magazine* began to distribute the exhibitions from its series of picture essays on Western Civilization. It was not anticipated that the space would be used frequently, and so the wall board was left its original ivory color to match the walls. But, so far, there has been no time when students have not been able to see something worthwhile.

Besides the *Life Exhibits*,¹ which come as a series of large posters on cardboard or aluminum, pages from the magazine itself have been used. By taking pages from two copies of the same issue, a complete picture story can be shown. The color reproductions of Michael Angelo's great paintings on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel were displayed at the time the class in Renaissance history was studying this subject. The entire *Life* issue reviewing the first half of the 20th century was also displayed.

Other material was obtained from the United Nations and at the suggestion of the U. N. information officer, foreign embassies and travel bureaus were solicited.² Especially interesting material was obtained from Yugoslavia, Iran, Israel, Pakistan, and India. Not only did

the pictures, magazines, and pamphlets tell much about these countries, but they also supplied examples of "propaganda." The British Information Service supplied beautiful travel posters and informative picture stories of Great Britain and the Empire.

The United States government departments like Agriculture, Commerce, and Interior have given useful information. One exhibit was made up of the pamphlets of the National Park Service. Shown just before vacation, it offered students a comprehensive idea of the places of historic interest that they might visit. Another show was a series of maps from the Department of Agriculture, depicting many aspects of this important part of the American economy. The Treasury department sent a large exhibit of the materials used to stimulate the sale of United States bonds, of much interest to the business students.

One of the most colorful exhibits was of picture maps of the states. A postcard request was sent to the state highway, park or public development departments of each of the states, asking them for material about their parks and natural resources.³ The response was almost overwhelming, and several exhibits were made possible. The picture-map show was given just after the beginning of the school year, and our students, coming from many states, enjoyed showing each other where they lived and boasted about their states' superiority over others. It was a good device for making freshmen acquainted with one another, and all of them learned something new at the same time. Since MacMurray college is only thirty-five miles from the Illinois state capital, it has been possible to arrange for exhibits from a number of state departments. The State Library has been very cooperative in supplying prints of works of art that have been used to illustrate our lectures on the aesthetic aspects of civilization.

For two weeks in the fall of 1952, the Social Science Center was the scene of flaming political argument, when the campus Republican

and Democratic clubs each displayed campaign publicity posters, slogans, pins, political advertisements, etc. So that there would be no accusation of partiality, a line was drawn through the center of the hall, and lots were drawn to determine which club would have the east and which the west side.

Other sources of material have been the National Archives, which provide photostats of significant historical documents at small cost; and the Library of Congress, which has a large collection of pictures for loan or for sale.⁴ The National Association of Manufacturers, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations⁵ have also supplied exhibits. A number of businesses have interesting material, as the International Business Machines Corporation will send photographs of Da Vinci's inventions, and Parke, Davis and Company have a series of pictures on the history of pharmacy.⁶ Many of the railroads have pictures and charts which they will loan. The Union Pacific gave us a fine collection of 8 x 10 prints of photographs made when the U. P. was under construction. The Association of American Railroads is a clearing house for public relations for all railroads, and in addition to supplying the names of individual railroads, it distributes a wide variety of material.⁷ The Institute of Life Insurance⁸ sends out charts that show graphically many aspects of the American economy.

One small panel of our exhibit space is reserved for current events, and here newspaper clippings and the bi-weekly bulletin of the Department of State are posted.⁹ Students

have been especially interested in news pictures supplied by the United Nations.

Over the years, a number of devices have been developed for attaching pictures to the wall panels. Of course, cork is the ideal material for bulletin boards, but Celotex is very much cheaper, and if one is careful to use small thumbtacks sparingly, and wherever possible, substitute number six brass bank pins, the Celotex will last for a long time. Heavier pictures and the *Life* exhibitions can be hung from a wooden rail at the top of the panel. By using thumbtacks pushed through small squares of cardboard, and catching a corner of the picture or document under the cardboard, and then pressing the tack into the wall board, material may be displayed without damaging it.

So MacMurray College makes even the walls play a part in education.

¹ A catalog of these exhibits may be obtained from *Life* Exhibitions, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20.

² United Nations Department of Public Information, United Nations, N. Y. This agency will also send the addresses of embassies and travel agencies.

³ Addresses were obtained from a list supplied by the National Park Service.

⁴ Exhibits and Information Officer, The National Archives, Washington, D. C.; Prints and Photograph Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

⁵ N. A. M.: 14 West 49th St., New York 20; C. I. O.: 719 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D. C.

⁶ I. B. M. Co.: 590 Madison Ave., New York; Parke, Davis and Co.: Modern Pharmacy Magazine, P. O. Box 118, R. P. Annex, Detroit, Michigan.

⁷ A. A. R.: Transportation Building, Washington 6, D. C.

⁸ Division of Research, Institute of Life Insurance, New York 22, N. Y.

⁹ *Foreign Policy Briefs*, Division of Publications, Office of Public Affairs, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C. Your congressman can help you get this publication free.

The Teachers' Page

HYMAN M. BOODISH

Murrell Dobbins Vocational-Technical School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Early this year we received a letter from Mrs. F. V. Grimes, a teacher in Amelia, Virginia. The subject of her letter involved the Russian Constitution and the Franchise. Not being an authority on Russian Constitutional Law and Practices, I called upon Mr. Bernard S. Stern, a teacher of World History in our school, now doing graduate work in Interna-

tional Relations at the University of Pennsylvania toward his Ph.D. degree.

Mrs. Grimes' letter and Mr. Stern's comments follow:

Copy—Mrs. Grimes letter:

"In our study of constitutions we have encountered need for authentic information concerning the following:

World Civilization, by Webster and Wesley, Heath Company, states that: 'Russia possesses a constitution. It grants the franchise to men and women over eighteen years of age, if they are "productive laborers." This means that all employers of labor for profit cannot vote or hold any public office or serve in the army. Most members of the middle class are thus excluded from political rights. The same exclusion applies to clergymen and monks, and, of course, to the former nobles.'

"We would like to know whether or not this Constitution is still in force and if the above limitations are retained in the Russian Constitution."

Mr. Stern's comment:

"While I am not acquainted with the reference mentioned in Mrs. Grimes' letter, I believe the book to be quite dated. There have been three basic constitutions in the U.S.S.R.—one in 1918, another in 1924, and the latest, the famous Stalin Constitution of 1936. In the latter, Articles 124 to 142 set forth the rights of Soviet citizens. Accordingly, all individuals over the age of eighteen, regardless of occupation, race, and sex have the right to vote; no limitations of any kind are stated.

"Concerning the political rights of clergymen, it is noteworthy that on June 30, 1944, a Council for Affairs of the Religious Denominations (waggishly termed the 'Commissariat of God') was organized. This action, consonant with Article 124 of the Stalin Constitution which states that 'freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens,' is believed by some observers to have been a political move designed to win influence among the Orthodox millions in the Balkans and Near East as a counterweight to the power of the Vatican in the West. Also it has been interpreted as a Communist retreat before the fact that the Russian people as a whole evince deep religious feelings. This was vividly demonstrated during World War II when the State reinstituted the Orthodox hierarchy in Moscow and called upon the people to defend 'Holy Mother Russia,' the slogan 'Defend the Workers' Fatherland' being temporarily relegated to the background.

"However, while the practice of religion is ostensibly permitted in the Soviet Union, one

must know too that Communist Party regulations requires that its members be non-religious, thus barring religious individuals from the ranks of the elite. Furthermore, the Orthodox Church receives official sanction and aid whereas Roman Catholics, Jews, Buddhists, and Moslems, while not overtly persecuted as such, occupy inferior status.

"Regarding the term 'middle class' found in Mrs. Grimes' quotation, this phrase, as applied to the U.S.S.R., is not at all a valid one. Tsarist Russia never had much of a middle class. The people usually thought to occupy this category—teachers, engineers, doctors, lawyers, small business men, technicians—in Russia were generally the cadres for anti-Tsarist activities. The most resolute republicans and radicals came from this group, for it was they who came into intimate contact with new ideas and who had both the time to reflect and the intellectual ability to see that Tsarism was a doomed, obsolescent feudal system.

"Under Bolshevism part of the middle-class became leaders of the new government; some were liquidated or exiled for their republican and socialist sympathies; others simply receded into the ranks of the proletariat. In the period 1927 to 1934 the last of small entrepreneurs, petty capitalists, and land-holding farmers (*nepmen* and *kulaks*) were violently eradicated. The new *intelligentsia*, as professionals are called in Russia, is today a generation which grew directly out of the Komsomol, the Young Communist League which prepares young people for service and leadership. This group is one of the basic pillars of strength of the Soviet State; its numbers have grown from 22,000 in 1918 to 15,000,000 in 1946.

"The *intelligentsia*, corresponding roughly to our own American middle-class or white collar group, is highly favored in the U.S.S.R. Of course, theoretically there are no classes in Russia, so they are termed, like all other proletarians, "workers of hand and brain." But nevertheless, in recognition of their special training, talents, and functions they, as well as Red Army officers, rank extremely high in the social structure.

"From 1918 to 1936 survivors of the old nobility, clergymen, republicans, socialists, and other anti-Bolshevik elements were classified

as *lishentsi*—"rightless" individuals. The Stalin Constitution of 1936 abolished this classification and under Article 135 they were enfranchised. Despite this apparent burst of liberality and the democratic aura of the Constitution, one must constantly be aware of the fact that the power to interpret it is vested in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (49b), an organ which is virtually synonymous with the top summit of the Communist Party, U.S.S.R.

"In reading the Stalin Constitution the student must be also aware of one other fundamental factor—that of the Soviet concept of law. All law, according to the tenets of Leninism-Stalinism, exists to protect the economic interests of the ruling class. It sanctifies the *status quo* by guarding existing property relationships with legislation and the application of coercion whenever necessary. The Soviets claim that theirs is a classless society; hence, they do not have 'law' in the conventional capitalist or Western sense. In Russia, law is a system of rules of conduct (norms) 'established in legislative order by the rule of

the toilers and expressing their will . . . for the purpose of defending, strengthening, and developing socialistic relations and for the gradual construction of communist society.' (Vyshinsky, 'The Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. and the Tasks of the Science of Socialist Law.')

"This concept is best explained in simplest terms by reading Vyshinsky's *The Law of the Soviet State*. On one hand, the Master Prosecutor tells his readers that in the U.S.S.R. everyone has full civil rights, true democracy, and opportunity, quoting the 1936 Constitution profusely. Phrases later, Vyshinsky specifies that 'naturally, there is and can be no place for freedom of speech, press . . . for the foes of socialism.' All the rights quoted in Articles 124 to 142 are the property of *all* Soviet people, but Vyshinsky warns, they are 'fully guaranteed by the State upon the *single condition* that they be utilized in accord with the interests of the toilers and to the end of strengthening the socialist social order.' (italics mine)

News and Comment

R. T. SOLIS-COHEN

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

"Wetbacks"

According to Gladwin Hill (of *The Times* Los Angeles bureau, *New York Sunday Times*, January 31, 1954, Magazine Section) Mexican "wetbacks"—that is, Mexican border-jumpers—sneak into the United States at the rate of two every minute. Their entry is illegal.

They may be punished by jail or deportation for unlawfully slipping into the United States. If they are caught, they cannot ever become United States citizens.

They bring with them into the United States the following undesirable items: drugs, parrots, tuberculosis and venereal disease.

However, in spite of the vigilance of the U.S. Border Patrol, the "wetbacks" continue

to come into the United States in search of work upon the cotton, fruit and vegetable ranches in Texas, Mexico, Arizona and California. These extensive agricultural enterprises rely upon cheap labor, which consists of impoverished migratory citizen farm workers, Mexican alien labor legally imported under agreements between the Mexican and United States governments, and the "wetbacks." All these three classes of labor work for whatever wage they can manage to get.

A study of the labor situation in the agricultural Southwest was made by President Truman's non-partisan lay commission, which recommended:

"that the Border Patrol be strengthened; that effective penalties be imposed on the

employers of 'wetbacks'; that wages and working conditions, including Social Security and unemployment insurance, be improved sufficiently to attract domestic labor; and that the importation of alien labor not be increased."

In spite of President Truman's endorsement of these recommendations, they have not been acted upon because of opposition to them from Southwestern agriculturalists and their Congressmen.

Mr. Hill points out that the report stresses the importance of the following questions:

"Does the American public want to continue espousing, directly or indirectly, a foreign labor supply for one segment of the nation's agriculture—a sponsorship which contradicts a generation — old economic policy against importing cheap labor? Does it want to continue to spend millions of dollars a year in importation and apprehension activities? Does it want to go on maintaining what amounts to a 1,600 mile gateway for a variety of evils which are being combated successfully on other fronts?"

Refugees

In contrast to the unenlightened policy toward aliens in the Southwest, New York State is attempting to protect the alien as well as the American community. According to a dispatch in *The New York Times* (Sunday, February 7, 1954) the New York State Employment Service will certify that a given job opening exists. Thus the Service will clear the way for immigrant workers who come under the Refugees Relief Act.

In addition to certifying that a genuine job is open that will not displace a qualified local worker, the Service must also certify that on this job the immigrant will not be exposed to exploitation as cheap labor.

The present plan for immigrant aid was devised through the cooperation of the U. S. State Department, the U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service and the U. S. Public Health Service. It anticipates the investigation and processing of 5,000 persons monthly, starting July 1, 1954. By July, 1955, it is estimated

that this number will be increased to about 7,000 a month.

Letters to Dr. Benjamin Rush

L. H. Butterfield, the Director of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, collected letters to Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, which were published in 1951. Since that time, twenty-six other letters have come to light. They were printed in the January, 1954, issue of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. These letters were written by Dr. Rush between the ages of nineteen and sixty-six.

While Dr. Rush was abroad he met Benjamin Franklin who was interested in Dr. Rush's opinion on the nature and causes of "colds."

One letter by Dr. Rush contains his ideas on the efficacy of bleeding and purging as a cure for yellow fever.

In one of the last letters published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* Dr. Rush shows his great pride in the recognition accorded by the court and learned institutions of Russia to the medical writings that he had transmitted through the hands of the U. S. minister there, John Quincy Adams.

A Portuguese Naturalist in Philadelphia, 1799

Dr. Robert C. Smith, Associate Professor of the History of Art at the University of Pennsylvania, is the author of an article on Hipólito José da Costa Pereira Furtado de Mendonça, a Portuguese naturalist, who visited Philadelphia in 1799 and kept a diary during his visit. He called on John Bartram and William Hamilton who owned the celebrated hothouses at The Woodlands.

Da Costa's opinion of Charles Willson Peale's famous museum was not entirely favorable. It was in Philadelphia that the Portuguese naturalist had his first contact with forms of worship other than his own. He was deeply interested in the religious services of Philadelphia Baptists, Jews, Methodists, Lutherans and Dunkards.

Da Costa admired the quiet and order which he found wherever large numbers of citizens assembled in Philadelphia.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

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The World of Humanism 1453-1517. By Myron P. Gilmore. (Rise of Modern Europe Series. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers. 1952. Pp. xv, 326. \$5.00).

The publication of Professor Gilmore's book adds another illustrious volume to the scholarly *Rise of Modern Europe* series. Although monograph material on the Renaissance is abundant, the reader might have wished that an author of Professor Gilmore's competence and historical imagination had synthesized this material into a badly needed one volume re-statement of the Renaissance. However the chronological limits imposed upon this volume by the larger work of which it is a part made such a treatment impossible. In the author's own words he has "rather concentrated on the analysis of certain more specific problems including some attempts to suggest relationships between traditionally distinct subjects of historical investigations." In this he has been uniquely successful. The book is a penetrating analysis of "the important changes that were taking place in institutions and ideas between . . . the fall of Constantinople and the outbreak of the Protestant Revolution." Categories such as economics, politics, science, religion and art are in turn explored by the author, and relationships are examined in a masterful way that enlarge the reader's understanding of this controversial period.

Of especial merit is the final third of the book which discusses the cultural ferment of the period. The suggestive treatment of thought, art and science make the reader wish that this part of the work had been much expanded. Noteworthy is the way in which the author has put the program of Christian humanism in proper perspective.

The volume is handsomely illustrated with sixty-four judiciously chosen, and seldom seen

half-tones. The generous use of contemporary manuscript and book illustration enables the reader to see how the world of Humanism appeared to men of that day. An extensive annotated bibliography of forty-seven pages is included.

WILHELMINA JASHEMSKI

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

Congress: Its Contemporary Role. By Ernest S. Griffith. New York: New York University Press, 1953. Pp. vii, 193. \$3.50.

As Director of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress since 1940, Dr. Ernest S. Griffith has had an unusual opportunity to study the operations of Congress at close range. He has become increasingly conscious of "the gulf between the popular picture of our national legislative body and its reality" (p. v). In this book, incorporating his Stokes Lectures on Politics at New York University, he takes a broad and realistic view, tempered by charity and optimism, of the contemporary role of Congress.

The far-reaching changes in the constitutional position of Congress he ascribes far more to usage and custom than to formal amendment or to judicial decisions. He believes that Congress has made real progress in gearing itself to meet the demands of the present technical age, and he is convinced that "much more has been accomplished" with respect to executive-legislative relations "than is generally supposed" (p. 51). His comments on the role of Congress in appropriations and economic planning are particularly illuminating.

In his chapter on "Congress and Localism" Dr. Griffith points out that Congress usually reflects local rather than national viewpoints,

and he believes that this is a salutary and not a deplorable condition, in view of the tendencies toward centralization that threaten to undermine the federal system and democratic institutions. While he praises the "masterly and challenging" Report of the Committee on Political Parties of the American Political Science Association, he also challenges some of its basic conclusions. He takes a dim view of many proposals to strengthen the party system and to develop "binding national-party programs"; instead, he suggests that "the present trend toward independence and cross-voting should be encouraged" (p. 183).

"Congress," writes Dr. Griffith, "has demonstrated its capacity to act quickly in a crisis and to sustain a mood of high purpose in an age of major problems" (p. 182). Against this perhaps overly optimistic appraisal may be set the warning of George B. Galloway, Senior Specialist in the Legislative Reference Bureau of the Library of Congress, which Dr. Griffith heads. "If Congress is to save itself from the anti-democratic forces which are challenging it at home and abroad," states Dr. Galloway in his recent book, *The Legislative Process in Congress* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1953), "then it must act promptly to improve its efficiency and democratize its methods." Most observers of Congress in action today, while sharing Dr. Griffith's generally high opinion of the members of Congress, would be inclined to place far more stress than he does on the impelling necessity of heeding Dr. Galloway's warning.

NORMAN D. PALMER

University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Modern German History. By Ralph Flenley.
New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1953.
Pp. xii, 406. \$6.00.

For anyone who is interested in trying to understand the basic factors and forces that have shaped German history, this book will serve as a very helpful guide. Beginning with the Reformation, it traces the course of German developments to the outbreak of World War II in 1939. Within the scope of twelve interesting chapters, it surveys and evaluates, with great clarity and penetration, such topics as

the results of the Reformation, the emergence of Prussia, the effects of the French Revolution, the growth of liberal and national movements, the Revolution of 1848, the unification by Bismarck, the rise and decline of the Weimar Republic, and the Nazi dictatorship.

The author presents much more than a political outline. He devotes considerable space to cultural developments in the fields of art, literature, and science. In Chapter IV, for example, he describes the intellectual and literary revival of the eighteenth century, and sets forth, with keen insight, the noteworthy contributions of men like Lessing, Herder, Goethe, Schiller, and Kant. Likewise, the economic and social developments receive extended treatment.

In his concluding remarks the author is on solid ground when he asserts that there were circumstances in German history "which made possible and even aided the rise and triumph of Nazism: her internal dissensions, her political and social backwardness, her Prussianism and its concomitant militarism." (p. 386). But at the same time, he observes, there are strong cultural forces that rebel against ideas of autocracy, militarism, and intolerance. Another Hitler, therefore, is not inevitable.

The book is clearly and concisely written, and presents a balanced and objective portrayal of German institutions and developments. It includes a number of helpful maps and illustrations. It is undoubtedly one of the best surveys of modern German history to appear in recent years.

RICHARD H. BAUER

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

The Republic of the Schools: An Educational Program for Democracy. By Victor Jelenko.
New York: Exposition Press, 1952. Pp. 224.
\$3.00.

As its subtitle admits, Mr. Jelenko's aim in *The Republic of the Schools* is to assist in the development of the attitudes, knowledges, understandings, and ideals which contribute to and motivate good American citizenship. That such an objective, in times like these, is laudable goes without saying.

Victor Jelenko's background likewise contributes to the enthusiasm with which he views

the problem. Born in Charleston, West Virginia, he received his M.A. in the School of History at the University of Virginia and an L.L.B. at the University of Maryland. He is president and one of the founders of the Ulman Society, which is devoted to the education of the public on the need for rehabilitating youthful offenders. A businessman, he now makes his home in Baltimore where he has been president of Realty Mart, Inc., since 1907.

As to what prompted him to undertake a summation of his educational ideas Mr. Jelenko writes:

During my convalescence from a serious illness several years ago I daydreamed stories which had no endings. Their background was an ideal democracy in which all the people were happy and satisfied. I hunted for a good reason to account for the success of my dream democracy and, thinking I had found the right one, I put into my hero's mouth the statement that the nation owed its happiness and prosperity to its educational system, which prepared all its children for democratic citizenship. (p. 21).

In brief this paragraph explains the plan offered in *Republic of the Schools*. Through an organization of the various levels of school instruction on the model of an ideal democratic republic, Mr. Jelenko would so acclimate and energize the student population that they would automatically become responsible and self-directing members of the adult body politic. Nor is such a panacea and process either fantastic or untried, though Jelenko must be given credit for championing the cause.

In fact many of the utopian states visualized by philosophers and teachers ever since Plato dealt with this same problem although in many different fashions. Indeed a modern instance may be cited in the review of a plan now in operation at the "George Junior Republic" at Freeville, a short distance from Ithaca, New York.

Founded in 1895 by William (Daddy) George, a retired New York businessman, the "republic" now is a 600-acre, self-contained community. Set up originally to help problem children, the republic has its own president, vice-president and cabinet officers. It enacts laws under its own constitution; has its own system of courts and enforcement officers,

schools and businesses; mints and issues currency and sets up its own import duties.

While Mr. Jelenko would use these practices in the public school the two programs have much similarity. Jelenko further states his objectives, which make a good deal of sense:

Our preoccupation with the threat of Russian domination of the world through Communism is a phenomenon that will provide historians of the future with much extraordinary material. They will be amazed that our free world, which prides itself upon its educational facilities and its extensive means of disseminating information became panicky . . . that they lost sight of the primary importance of practicing the principles of civilization as the best means of fighting communism . . .⁴⁵

This is a book which deserves to be studied thoroughly. While an immediate reaction is that the "Jelenko plan" may be too extensive and complicated to overcome our traditional inertia in educational matters, this may not be so at all. It would be, thus, quite proper for a number of pilot operations to be begun along these lines. The stakes in the conflict are high enough to warrant many breaks with standardized procedures.

KENNETH V. LOTTICK

Willamette University
Salem, Oregon

Criminology: A Book of Readings. Edited by Clyde B. Vedder, Samuel Koenig, and Robert E. Clark. New York: The Dryden Press, 1953. Pp. xxi, 714. \$4.50.

This is another addition to the recent flow of collections of source material relating to the more important fields of sociology. This work should prove of value in the usual undergraduate course in criminology on two counts. It makes available to the student many of the significant sources and papers which are invariably referred to in courses in criminology, but generally are inaccessible in the typical college library. Its use, too, should make for better balance in the usual course in criminology. The recent trend in textbooks has been to expand the space devoted to penology at the expense of other aspects of the subject. Here, less than a third of the total number of pages is devoted to treatment, including punishment,

with correspondingly more material on causation, and upon the more theoretical and abstract phases of criminology.

The teacher should find the tables which key the readings to the corresponding chapters in the standard texts in criminology very useful. The readings themselves should contribute significantly to the enrichment of what is now probably the most popular course in the undergraduate curriculum in sociology next to the introductory course itself.

JERRY A. NEPRASH

Franklin and Marshall College
Lancaster, Pennsylvania

The Legislative Struggle: A Study in Social Combat. By Bertram A. Gross. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1953. Pp. xviii, 472. \$6.50.

During his long experience as a staff adviser to various Senate committees and as an official in the Executive Office of the President, Bertram A. Gross became increasingly convinced of "the need for a new and more realistic concept of the legislative process" (p. ix). This book is his attempt "to develop such a concept—one that would emphasize people in action as the essence of legislative activity; that would analyze the role in the legislative process not only of members of Congress but also of Presidents and executive officials, judges, private organizations, and political parties; that would recognize the similarities between the legislative process and other governmental and social processes; and that would contribute to the development of better understanding of social behavior as a whole" (p. ix).

Mr. Gross discusses the actual conduct of "the legislative struggle" in the light of this broad theoretical framework. The result is a work of outstanding importance, worthy of comparison with Arthur Bentley's pioneer contribution in 1908, David B. Truman's systematic analysis of *The Governmental Process* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), and the recent comprehensive and well-organized treatment of *The Legislative Process in Congress* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1953) by George B. Galloway.

After commenting briefly on the major groups that participate in "the legislative

struggle"—private organizations, political parties, and government agencies—Mr. Gross describes in considerable detail the "combat on the legislative terrain." He traces the course of a bill from its birth—and its real parents are often hard indeed to identify—to the final Presidential action on a measure which has been approved by Congress. Several excellent chapters are devoted to the work of congressional committees. A trenchant summary of the major suggestions for Congressional reform is capped by a plea to social scientists to "give more vigorous and sustained efforts to the production and analyses of proposals for change" (p. 458).

Teachers of the social sciences will find this volume stimulating and suggestive. It will give them an inside view of the legislative process, and will call their attention to the need for more careful studies of problems of social change.

NORMAN D. PALMER

University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

HELPFUL CLASSROOM AIDS

Important Historic Events

- April 5 Union Army besieged Yorktown—1862.
- 6 U.S. entered World War I—1917.
- 9 Bataan surrendered to Japanese—1942.
- 14 Pan-American Day.
- 16 Slavery Abolished in Washington, D. C.—1862.
- 19 Patriots Day in Massachusetts.
- 25 Farragut Captured New Orleans—1862.
- 26 Lafayette left France to join the American Army—1777.

ARTICLES

- "What Does Research Say About Self-evaluation?" by David H. Russell. *Educational Research*, XLVI (April 1953.)
- "How Will the Schools Use Television?" by Laurence H. Conrad. *The School Executive*, LXXII, (August 1953.)
- "Teacher As Rebel," by Howard K. Beale. *The Nation*, CLXXVI (May 16, 1953.)
- "Progressive Education Today," by Frederick

L. Redefer. *The Educational Forum*, XVIII (May 1953.)

"The Core and I," by Doris Koff. *Educational Outlook*, XXVII (March 1953.)

GENERAL

Mentor Books, Published by the New American Library, 501 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York. Price 35 cents plus five cents to cover mailing costs.

1. *A Documentary History of the United States*. By Richard D. Heffner.
2. *Life Stories of Men Who Shaped History from Plutarch's Lives*. By Edward C. Lindeman.
3. *Jefferson*. By Saul K. Padover.
4. *The Living U. S. Constitution*. By Saul K. Padover.
5. *The Age of Jackson*. By Arthur M. Schlesinger.
6. *American Diplomacy*. By George F. Kennau.
7. *Greek Historical Thought*. Edited by Arnold J. Toynbee.

"Emotional Adjustment: A Key to Good Citizenship" is the second report to come from the Citizenship Education Study conducted by the Detroit Public Schools and Wayne University.

The report is divided into three major sections. In the first section, the authors explain why and how they and other staff members arrived at the conclusions that "emotional adjustment is an important determiner of good citizenship."

In the second section, they describe a number of "practices which schools will find helpful in promoting emotional adjustment."

In the third section, they set down fifteen "guide-posts for schools concerned with improving citizenship."

Teachers of the social studies will find this one of the most useful publications in the field of civic education now in print.

PAMPHLETS

The following United States Government publications may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. *Exchange Teaching Abroad Under Public Law 584, 79th Congress*. Catalogue No. F.S.52: Ex2/3.

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Your Social Security: Questions and Answers, Old Age and Survivors Insurance. Catalogue No. FS3.35:28/3. Price 10 cents.

What's Happening to Delinquent Children in Your Town? Catalogue No. F.S.3.209:342.
Price 15 cents.

BOOK NOTES

The Gabriel Horn. By Felix Holt, New York: E. P. Dutton & Company Incorporated, 1953. Pp. xxxiii, 192. \$2.50.

The Jacksons of Tennessee. By Marguerite Vance. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, Incorporated, 1953. Pp. xi, 181. \$2.75.

These two books which have recently appeared on the market are excellent reference books for pupils of the Junior High School level. They both paint vivid descriptions of a certain section of our country pertaining to the pioneer period of American History.

Complete United States History. By Frank D. Whalen and Wilson Parkhill. New York: Noble and Noble, Publishers, Incorporated, 1953. Pp. lvii, 739. \$2.20.

Complete is the correct title for this new history text as it has all the good features that are required to consider the book an outstanding book in the field. The text is accurate, complete and written in simple language that the pupils can easily comprehend and enjoy.

History of Our United States. By R. W. Cordier and E. B. Roberts. New York: Rand McNally and Company, 1953. Pp. Units 10, 508. \$3.00.

This new textbook for seventh and eighth grades points up the development of American ideals and institutions. It gives a chronological account of our country's history from its beginning to the present.

CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

International Shipping Cartels: A Study of Self-Regulation by Shipping Conferences. By Daniel Marx, Jr. Princeton, New Jersey:

Princeton University Press, 1953. Pp. xii, 323. \$6.00.

Politics and the Constitution in the History of the United States. By William Winslow Cross Key. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1953. 2 Volumes. Pp. xi, 708: Pp. viii, 709-1410. \$20.00.

The Doctrine of the Separation of Powers and Its Present Day Significance. By Arthur T. Vanderbilt. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1953. Pp. xiii, 144. \$2.50.

Peace through Strength: Bernard Baruch and a Blueprint for Security. By Morris V. Rosenbloom. New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1953. Pp. 325. \$3.95.

Primary Elections in the South: A Study of Uniparty Politics in the South. By Cortez A. M. Ewing. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953. Pp. xii, 112. \$2.75.

Goals of Economic Life. By A. Dudley Ward. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953. Pp. x, 470. \$4.00.

Economic Stability in a Changing World. By John H. Williams. New York: Oxford University Press, 1953. Pp. vii, 284. \$5.00.

Economic Aspects of the Second Bank of the United States. By Walter Buckingham Smith. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1953. Pp. xii, 314. \$5.00.

The Return of Germany: A Tale of Two Countries. By Norbert Muhlen. Chicago, Illinois: Henry Regnery Company, 1953. Pp. vi, 310. \$4.50.

American Government. By William Anderson and Edward W. Weidner. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1953. Pp. xv, 989. \$6.50. Fourth Edition.

Foreign Policies of the United States. By Hollis W. Barber. New York: Dryden Press, 1953. Pp. ix, 614. \$5.25.

The American Federal Government. By John H. Ferguson and Dean E. McHenry. New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1953. Pp. x, 902. \$5.50. Third Edition.

The United States of America. By Henry Bamford Parkes. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Incorporated, 1953. Pp. xxi, 773. \$3.75.

Ethnic Relations in the United States. By Edward C. McDonagh. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953. Pp. xiv, 408. \$4.00.

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